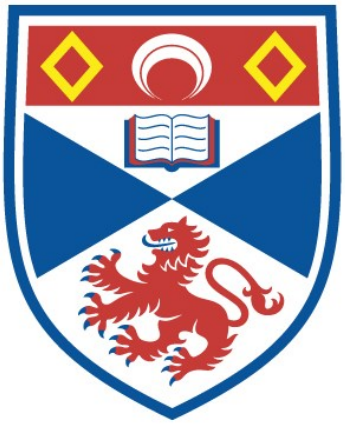
LUDWIG TIECK AND THE GOTHIC NOVEL : A STUDY OF THE LITERARY RELATIONS OF GERMANY AND ENGLAND IN THE LATE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

James Trainer

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews



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LUDWIG TIECK AND THE GOTHIC NOVEL

A Study of the Literary Relations of Germany and England in the late eighteenth century

being a Thesis presented by

JAMES TRAINER M.A.

to the University of St. Andrews

in application for the degree of

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the following Thesis is based on the results of research carried out by me, that the Thesis is my own composition, and that it has not previously been presented for a Higher Degree. The research was carried out in the Free University of Berlin, the German State Library in Berlin and in the University of St. Andrews.

[redacted]

CERTIFICATE

I certify that James Trainer has spent nine terms at Research work in the University of St.Andrews, that he has fulfilled the conditions of Ordinance No. 16 (St.Andrews) and that he is qualified to submit the accompanying Thesis in application for the degree of Ph.D.

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Professor of German Language and Literature.

CAREER

I matriculated in the University of St.Andrews in 1951 and followed a course leading to graduation in Arts (French and German) in 1955.
In October 1956 I commenced the research on German Literature which is now being submitted as a Ph.D. thesis. I was appointed to a Postgraduate Scholarship in 1956 and as Assistant Lecturer in German in the University of St.Andrews in October 1958.

I wish to express my thanks to Professor Richard Alewyn of the Free University of Berlin who assisted me in the early stages of my research, and particularly to my supervisor, Professor C.T. Carr of the University of St.Andrews, whose encouragement and advice have been of considerable value in the preparation of this thesis.

Table of Contents

CHAPTER ONE

The Literary-Historical Background

In literature as in history all time is a time of transition and as for the most part the transitions are indistinct in outline and without precise definition in time, it is but rarely that a single work can clearly be seen to mark the inception of a new school or fashion in literature. Yet Horace Walpole's Castle of Otranto (1764) was such a book, and its sub-title, A Gothic Story, was to provide the epithet which characterises the spate of novels and romances produced both directly and indirectly in imitation of it. As used by Walpole, 'Gothic' had meant no more than 'mediaeval' and 'super: :natural' in equal measure, but his personal vague and unhistorical conception of the Middle Ages resulted in little more than a story of supernatural incident placed in the world of the eighteenth century suitably overhung with mediaeval trappings. For the castle of Otranto was in reality merely Walpole's Gothic mansion at Strawberry Hill and in practice the novelist was presenting 'a series of mediaeval miracles grafted on to everyday life.'[1]

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1) Eino Railo, The Haunted Castle. A study of the elements of English Romanticism (London and New York, 1927) p.71.

This would appear to be the fundamental reason for the success of the genre, that it corresponded exactly to the requirements of the taste of its time in reintroducing to literature the irrational, the unexpected, the exciting and the supernatural - now to be called by the generic term 'Gothic' - elements which had disappeared from English narrative prose under the domination of the sentimental and 'domestic' realists Richardson and Fielding.

Walpole's theory of Gothic literature is contained in the preface to the second edition of The Castle of Otranto:

> 'It was an attempt to blend the two kinds of Romance, the ancient and the modern. In the former, all was imagination and improbability: in the latter, nature is always intended to be, and sometimes has been, copied with success. Invention has not always been wanting; but the great resources of fancy have been dammed up, by a strict adherence to common life. But if in the latter species Nature has cramped imagination, she did but take her revenge, having been totally excluded from old Romances. The actions, sentiments, conversations, of the heroes and heroines of ancient days, were as unnatural as the machines employed to put them in motion. The author of the following pages thought it possible to reconcile the two kinds. Desirous of leaving the power of fancy at liberty to expatiate through the boundless realms of invention and thence of creating more interesting situations, he wished to conduct the mortal agents in his drama according

> to the rules of probability; in short to make them think, speak, and act, as it might be supposed mere men and women would do in extraordinary positions.[1]

This plan to place ordinary men and women in extraordinary, i.e. supernatural, situations is worthy of note, for we are to meet it again in our discussion of German literature. Despite the instant and undisputed success of The Castle of Otranto, it was precisely the element of violence which the first real imitator, Clara Reeve, felt to be excessive and inartistic. While the new quality of fear was welcomed, the attitude towards it is most clearly indicated by the titles of two essays which appeared in 1773 and may be taken as representative of the climate of feeling, 'On the pleasure derived from objects of terror' and 'An Enquiry into the kinds of Distress which excite agreeable sensations'[2] - it is not the sadistic pleasure of watching man exposed to horrific and harmful situations which must inevitably overcome him, but rather the acceptance of fear as an 'agreeable sensation', replacing the essential melancholy of the

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1) Ballantyne's Novelist's Library (Edinburgh, 1823) V, 560

2) The Works of Anne Laetitia Barbauld (London, 1825) II, 214.

sensitive heroines in the earlier novel and acting as a barometer to record their reactions.[1] In the preface to The Champion of Virtue. A Gothic Tale (1777) Clara Reeve says of The Castle of Otranto: 'the machinery is so violent that it destroys the effect it is intended to excite'[2] and goes on to draw up a milder formula for her own works

> 'A sufficient degree of the marvellous to excite attention: enough of the manners of real life to give an air of probability to the work: and enough of the pathetic to engage the heart in its behalf.'[3]

Again the 'marvellous' and 'real life' are to be juxtaposed. This moderating, feminine attitude, strengthened and extended by the diffusive, romantic and virtuous Ann Radcliffe ultimately determined the course of English Gothic literature and provided it with its most dominant features, for the high watermark of the movement in England is reached in 1794 with the appearance of Mrs. Radcliffe's The Mysteries of Udolpho, in which

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1) Dr. Varma says of the Gothic authors: 'They aimed at awakening the twin emotions of Pity and Fear, but mainly Fear, as being more sublime.' D.P. Varma, The Gothic Flame (London, 1957) p.225.

2) Ballantyne's Novelist's Library, Vol.V, p.604.

3) Ibid.

all these elements are found in correct proportion.

What Mrs. Radcliffe did was to select the primary feature of Walpole's novel, suspense, and treat it in the not-too-violent, not-too-supernatural manner prescribed by Clara Reeve, the result being the 'explained supernatural'. In this the characters are confronted by events, noises, apparitions and various mysteries which on the surface seem to indicate the presence of some higher agency, yet in the end can be traced back to perfectly natural causes, often of a most unlikely kind. The parallel between this and the kind of pseudo-scientific deception practised by the Armenian in Schiller's Der Geisterseher is very striking, yet there is no evidence that Mrs. Radcliffe knew this work, the first English translation having appeared in 1795, one year after The Mysteries of Udolpho, nor even that she could read German. What is certain however is that a fashion for 'explained supernatural' later springs up again in Germany at the time when Mrs. Radcliffe's influence is at its greatest, as for example in the writings of Cajetan Tschink, whose title Wundergeschichten samt den Schlüsseln zu ihrer Erklärung

speaks for itself.

One cannot but feel that Walpole would heartily have disapproved of this elimination of the supernatural and it is considered by many to be the weakest point in Mrs. Radcliffe's work, for clearly, if situations are to continue to arouse genuine suspense, then the explanations become eventually so far-fetched that the reader feels he has been deliberately hood-winked and that the whole plot is merely an unlikely hoax. Committed as the Gothicists were to the cultivation of suspense and fear through the portrayal of man confronted by the supernatural, this concession to reason was quite artificial and was of less effect than a whole-hearted admission of external phenomena would have been. A similar view was expressed in the Quarterly Review of May 1810:

> 'We disapprove of the mode, introduced by Mrs. Radcliffe, and followed by Mr. Murphy and her other imitators, of winding up their story with a solution by which all the incidents appearing to partake of the mystic and marvellous are resolved in very simple and natural causes... we can believe, for example, in Macbeth's witches, and tremble at their spells; but had we been informed, at the conclusion of the piece, that they were only of his wife's chambermaids disguised for the purpose of imposing on the Thane's credulity,

> it would have added little to the credibility of the story, and entirely deprived it of its interest. In like manner we fling back upon the Radcliffe school their flat and ridiculous explanations, and plainly tell them that they must either confine themselves to ordinary and natural events, or find adequate causes for those horrors and mysteries in which they love to involve us.'[1]

Ann Radcliffe's first novel, The Castles of Athlin and Dunbayne (1789), with its pseudo-Scottish background and artificial characters, had been the direct descendant of The Old English Baron (the title to which The Champion of Virtue was changed) and showed little promise of the powers she was to reveal in increasing measure with A Sicilian Romance (1790) and The Romance of the Forest (1791), until with her portrayal of Udolpho she concentrates the whole spirit of Gothic literature into its most permanent and successful form. And 'spirit' is the key to the entire phenomenon, a movement which in its time aroused the frenzied interest of the reading public - 'when a family was numerous, the volumes flew, and were sometimes torn, from hand to hand, and the complaints of those whose studies were thus

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1) The Quarterly Review, III (1810), 344f.

interrupted, were a general tribute to the genius of the author'[1] - yet today is treated with contempt as a period of sub-literary degeneration[2]. Gothicism does not consist merely of a certain number of artificial and mechanical, quasi-supernatural devices, subterranean vaults, dark galleries, ruined buildings, creaking doors, decaying chambers and stealthy phantoms, although these constitute an integral part of it, its essence lies rather in the spirit conveyed by the writer, by which the reader identifies himself with the characters (the real-life element) and thus feels himself to be in conflict with the supernatural powers depicted. Once again, in an anonymous critique, we find this fusion of the two elements selected as most typical in Mrs.Radcliffe:

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1) Sir Walter Scott in Ballantyne's Novelist's Library, X, vii. In connection with Scott's remark it is interesting to note the letter of Goethe to A.W. Schlegel of 28.12.1789: 'Ew.Wohlgeb. sende die Burg von Otranto in einer neuen Hülle zürück. Wenn auch diese gleich der vorigen wird abgelesen seyn, so möchte wohl vom Buch selbst nicht viel übrig bleiben! ' Goethes Briefe (Weimar, 1893) Bd.13, p.361.

2) Evelyn Waugh's description of Gothic literature as 'this (rightly, I think) neglected corner of literature' (Spectator, 10.5.1957) may be considered typical and his ascription of 'the dwarfs, vampires, ruins, witches' to Mrs. Radcliffe is adequate indication of the neglect he himself has lavished upon it.

> 'Her works partially exhibit the charms of each species of composition; interweaving the miraculous with the probable, in consistent narrative, and breathing of tenderness and beauty particularly her own.'[1]

It was by suggesting the possibility that the 'other: :worldly' could at any given moment become a reality to the humblest of men that the Gothic exerted its fascination, while at the same time the demands of reason and the teachings of the Christian faith necessitated an outward facade of contempt for such unintellectual and superstitious possibilities. This ambivalence, the simultaneous attraction and repulsion - what is called the 'Gothic dichotomy' - we shall find at its strongest among the writers of repute.

As distinctly as the movement can be seen to have begun in 1764, its initial recession is visible in 1795 (some would place it earlier) with the publication of The Monk by Matthew Gregory Lewis, which marks the point of fusion of the parallel Gothic schools of England and Germany and makes possible a deluge of gruesome terror-novels, devoted to the cult of the macabre and steeped in the stench of the charnel-house, with

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1) Memoir of the Life and Writings of Mrs. Radcliffe in Gaston de Blondeville (London, 1826) p.106.

characters apparently weaned on the seven deadly sins and nourished by the thought of possible depths of depravity still unplumbed. For a time no other kind of novel was acceptable, and the futility of opposition to the fashion can be seen in the failure of Jane Austen's Northanger Abbey, hardly favourable in its attitude to the terror-novelists, to find a publisher in 1797.

The interdependence of the Gothic schools of Germany and England has long been a question of controversy and surprisingly little is still known of the degree and even of the chronology of influence exerted by one side upon the other. Bertrand Evans writes:-

> 'Up to 1798 the stream of influence flowed from England to Germany rather than from Germany to England. When the flood then turned, it brought both the substance originally lent and several additions from a foreign heritage. It arrives in England with a rush of dramatic adaptations, translations and borrowings.'[1]

V. Stockley places the turn of the tide two years

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1) B. Evans, Gothic Drama from Walpole to Shelley, 1947.

earlier in 1796 with the translation of Bürger's Lenore,[1] while J. Bräuchli writes from the German standpoint:

> 'Der Umstand, dass die englischen Schloss- und Geistergeschichten am besten vertreten sind zwischen 1796 und 1810, während die deutschen den Höhepunkt erst zwischen 1815 und 1840 erreichten, macht es immerhin wahrscheinlicher, dass England durch diese beiden Schauerroman-Gattungen auf Deutschland wirkte als umgekehrt.'[2]

Lewis was in close touch with the German literature of his time,[3] having visited Germany in preparation for a diplomatic career, and he appears to have been an assiduous student of the language. At Weimar he was introduced to Goethe, whose Werther he admired, and while in Berlin he was 'perfectly astonished at the crowds of princes and princesses, dukes and duchesses, which were poured upon me from every quarter.'[4] In 1816 he is said to have made an oral translation of Faust for Byron, while his Tales of

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1) Times Literary Supplement, 13.3.1930.

2) J. Bräuchli, Der englische Schauerroman um 1800 (Zürich Diss., 1928) p.117.

3) For fuller treatment see Railo, op. cit., Ch.II.

4) The Life and Correspondence of M.G. Lewis (London, 1839) I,78.

Terror (1801), Tales of Wonder (1801) and Romantic Tales (1808) indicate, according to Fehr, a knowledge of Schiller's Der Geisterseher and Die Räuber, Heinse's Ardinghello and Herder's translation of the Danish Ballads.[1] In Lewis the element of horror is magnified to repulsive proportions and in addition a new note of eroticism is struck in the person of the sensual monk Ambrosio, whose actions are in turn seductive, incestuous and murderous. For the first time these unnatural themes are combined in one work of Gothic fiction and from this point on, no subject is too sordid and no scene too hideous for the pens of the terror-novelists.

There is thus ample evidence for our contention that The Monk may be considered indicative of the reversal in the direction of influence, for it is the first major novel to embody the characteristics of the new development, viz. the horrific, terrible and gruesome cultivated for their own sakes, which had long been features of German Gothicism and now grown

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1) B. Fehr, Die englische Literatur des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts (Berlin, 1923) p.96.

to prominence in this country. Indeed 'German novel' became a self-explanatory term of opprobrium, indicating the sensational contents of the work in question, and this diversion of style and treatment to suit more unwholesome appetites was the greatest single factor in bringing the genuine English Gothic novel into a disrepute which it has never shaken off. By claiming their works as translations from German originals or simply by dubbing them 'German novels' many insignificant and worthless authors were able to increase their circulation while further debasing the function of the novel. The stigma attaching to the tag 'German novel' can be judged from a notice in The Monthly Review of 1826, III, p.137:

> 'The German novelist almost invariably confounds the monstrous conception of whatever is most strange, terrific, and impossible, with the legitimate province of imagination. He 'sups his full of horrors', and has only a nightmare for the result. He cares not how violently and absurdly he outrages all the laws of the natural world: it is enough if he has spurned the bounds of real creation, and it matters not whither he may speed in the insanity of his course. He has the complacent conviction that he must be soaring in the elevation of genius, only because he has quitted the region of common-sense.'

Or again a book review in The Westminster and Foreign Quarterly Review IV (1853), p.272:

> 'Germans are no more able to write novels than the English to write diaries. A novel like Cyrilla,[1] with the interest all centred on a case of bigamy, and at the end of which, the villain in a prisoner's van, meets the hero and heroine in a hearse - a story full of swooning, sudden death, clairvoyance, and duelling, is a good German novel, but of a kind that should be written in the German language and confined to German readers.'

And a contemporary German visitor to England, Christian A.O. Goede, expresses in his memoirs his perplexity at the reputation which German literature was acquiring in this country through such novels:

> 'Viele Engländer halten die Bekanntschaft mit der Deutschen Literatur für gefährlich; auch hört man oft über die unmoralische Tendenz Deutscher Schriften klagen... Sieht man in den Englischen Leihbibliotheken die abscheulichen Missgeburten, die unter dem Namen 'german novels' ihren Weg zu den Toiletten finden: so wird man die Klagen patriotischer Engländer über diese Geist und Geschmack ertödtende Lectüre

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1) Cyrilla. By the author of The Initials. 3 vols.

sehr gerecht finden.'[1]

This then was the condition into which the English novel was rapidly degenerating and it was not until the time of Sir Walter Scott,[2] whose instinctive sense for historical and artistic material was able to refine and purify the elements he found in existence, that the novel was restored to a high literary level, from which it continued to develop into our own day. We must now turn to examine the growth of the Gothic genre in Germany and try to discover the reasons for this crude and unnatural development.

One would perhaps have to return to Grimmelshausen's Simplicissimus (1669) to find the first truly German

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1) C.A.G. Goede, England, Wales, Irland und Schottland. Erinnerungen an Natur und Kunst aus einer Reise in den Jahren 1802 und 1803 (Dresden, 1806) III, p.90.

2) Scott had a great admiration for Mrs. Radcliffe and many of the Gothic themes are still to be found in his own works. How closely he was identified with the Gothicists, i.e. with the accepted fashion of the day, can be seen from Crabb Robinson's comparisons of Scott and Radcliffe: (Of Rokeby) 'It gave me no pleasure. It is a romance a la Radcliffe turned into verse.' (Waverley) 'His sense of the romantic and picturesque in nature is not so delicate nor is his execution so powerful as Mrs. Radcliffe.' (Guy Mannering) 'There are some scenes of teror, hardly inferior to Mrs. Radcliffe's.' Henry Crabb Robinson on Books and Their Writers ed. J.E. Morley (London, 1938) pp.130, 163, 173 respectively.

contribution to the cult of the 'Schelmenroman', which, deriving from the French and Spanish picaresque romances, developed by the beginning of the eighteenth century into a steady stream of travel and adventure novels, written by the first 'professional' writers whom Germany had seen - men like Eberhard Happel of Marburg (1648-1695) and August Bohse of Halle (1661-1730). Fresh impetus was given to the movement by Daniel Defoe's Robinson Crusoe (1719) which exerted an immense influence upon German literature after the first translation appeared in the spring of 1720. Soon there began here as in other countries a series of imitations of doubtful literary merit, which under the name of 'Robinsonaden' formed a genre of their own in the literary history of the eighteenth century. But the elevation of the novel to an independent form of literary activity was accomplished only in 1747 by Gellert with his Leben der Schwedischen Gräfinn von G..., in which he took the first step in the direction of the modern psychologically motivated novel.

The novel-form thus lay ready at hand as the means of expression by the time that Germany's literary

giants of the late eighteenth century began to write and under their influence the steady stream became a deluge which flooded the markets and fairs year by year; literature had become a commercial proposition and more and more people were devoting themselves to it. In the preface to the fifth edition of his Lexikon (1805) Meusel estimates the number of living German writers as follows: c.1784 over 5,200; 1791 about 7,000; 1795 about 8,000, while according to the Neue Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek of 1796, a bookdealer puts the number of novels since 1773 at over 6,000,[1] and all this with the movement still in comparative infancy.

The most direct twin-inspirations for this startling phenomenon were undoubtedly two dramas, Goethe's Götz von Berlichingen (1773) and Schiller's Die Räuber (1781) which, like Walpole's earlier work, seemed to succeed in echoing precisely the feelings and sentiments of their contemporaries. Goethe's main contribution was the portrayal of the chivalric ideal

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1) XXI, 190.

ideal of the Middle Ages, which touched off a mediaeval revival in literature, whose leadership quickly passed to Leonhard Wächter, famed as Veit Weber for his colourful, if superficial, Sagen der Vorzeit (1787). The historical importance of the Sagen is that they transfer the interest in the Middle Ages from the drama to the novel and by thus popularising the Mediaeval make possible the works of the myriad imitators and cheapjacks whose absurd tales became the favourite reading of the time.

The vitality of Götz von Berlichingen made a particular appeal to a generation given to the senti: :mental excesses symbolised by Werther, and precisely as Sophia Lee had done in England, the new writers turned to historical fact for their inspiration. Thus in Southern Germany many bands of robbers still existed in the late eighteenth century and a new interest began to be taken in some of the more notorious figures. R. Boxberger has shown the use of episodes from historical robber stories in Die Räuber

by Schiller,[1] whose further interest in the subject is seen from his story of Franz Schwan, published as Der Verbrecher aus Infamie, eine wahre Geschichte (1786) and later renamed Der Verbrecher aus verlorner Ehre. Here the robber's bitterness towards society is psychologically developed and portrayed as the result of a sense of injustice sustained in youth. From Die Räuber Karl Moor was to become the patron saint of this 'Räuberromantik', whose special code of honour, outlawry, altruism and independence was complementary to that of the noble Götz. The robber-ideal came to be superimposed upon the code of chivalry and very soon the function of knights and robbers in the novel is virtually indistinguishable. Often the knight is delegated to steal or burn down a village, while the robber takes over the more knightly pursuits of war and revenge. In strength, endurance, skill, heroism and capacity for love they are now equal and identical, though not always sufficient of themselves to escape from the situations into which they are plunged. For this purpose another element is

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1) Schnorrs Archiv III, p.283f.

introduced - in accordance with the spirit of the age - the supernatural.

The imaginations of men had been fired and revolting against the earthbound rationalism of the Enlightenment, a new interest in the mystic, the secret and the irresistible lure of the Unknown manifest itself. Cagliostro, Swedenborg, Schrepfer, quacks, scoundrels, alchemists, exorcists, miracle-doers claiming secret powers brought from the pyramids of Egypt, all freely peddled their wares and gained many adherents even in the highest circles of society. Secret societies, each with its own ritual and peculiar mystery, Rosicrucians, Illuminati, animal magnetists, clairvoyants, ghost-seers, tricksters, charlatans and opportunists - all find a place in the new irrationalist reaction. As Köpke comments:

> 'Man schien der gepriesenen Aufklärung müde zu sein, und den Glauben abgetan zu haben, um sich einem plumpen Aberglauben kopfüber in die Arme zu werfen. Die Phantasie muesste aus einem Schrecken in den andern hineingehetzt werden, gleichviel ob durch Spuk oder Blut... aber wenn eisige Schauer den Rücken des Lesers hinabglitten, dann fühlte er mit doppeltem Genuss das Glück

bürgerlicher Ruhe und Sicherheit.'[1]

Here was a rich store of material for the potential novelist and the wide application of this dabbling in mystery is shown by the interest which even the greatest literary figures were to take in it, notably Schiller in Der Geisterseher and Goethe in Groß-Kophta, although traces are still discernible in Jean Paul's Titan, Wieland's Peregrinus Proteus, Hippel's Kreuz- und Querzüge des Ritters A bis Z, Jung Stilling's Die Zauberflöte. Provided with this ready-made para: :phernalia of mystic symbolism, supernatural apparition and plain deception strangely attractive to the public of its day, a host of novelists quickly arose who, while individually insignificant, conjointly exerted a substantial influence on their own generation, an influence which was quick to spread back to a partially receptive England.

It was in this milieu that the trivial novel, a term we shall use to indicate the parallel German equivalent to the English Gothic movement, flourished under the

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1) R. Köpke, Ludwig Tieck. Erinnerungen aus dem Leben des Dichters (Leipzig, 1855) I, 119.

tireless fingers of Cramer, Spiess, Lafontaine, Vulpius and numberless others, each of whom assimilated those conventions which appealed to him most, and adding improbability to impossibility, built up what Appell called the 'Pfefferdütenliteratur' of the dying eighteenth century,[1] a literature whose three principal constituents were chivalry, banditry and the supernatural. The final product is thus summed up by Hemmer:

> 'Ritter in todessichern Stahlpanzern mit bramarbasierenden Tiraden und einem ins übermenschliche gesteigerten Rachbedürfnis - Räuber, denen Helden der Kriminalliteratur, Karl Moor und Christian Wolf Modell gesessen haben, weichherzig und grausam nach Bedarf, dem Bauer Freunde, allen andern Ständen Todfeinde, - Gespenster, für die Wände und Wälle keine Hindernisse sind, mit blutenden Wunden und furchtbarer Donnerstimme, - geheimnisvolle Geschehnisse, die das Walten dämonischer Wesen vermuten lassen, - Mord, Blutschande, Folter, bis ins Kleinste ausgemahlte Hinrichtungen, Blutbäder, Wald, Felsengrüfte, Mitternacht, wiedererstandene Tote, plötzliche Entführungen, Verschwörungen u.a.m., das sind die Gestalten und Motive, die sich in diesen Romanen zu unentwirrbarem Gebild verflechten und Schriftsteller wie Leser in einem grossen Taumel dahinreissen.'[2]

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1) J.W. Appell, Die Ritter-, Räuber- und Schauerromantik (Leipzig, 1859) p.3.

2) H. Hemmer, Die Anfänge Ludwig Tiecks und seiner dämonisch-schauerlichen Dichtung. Acta Germanica. Bd.VI, Heft 3 (Berlin, 1910).

Christian Heinrich Spiess (1755-1799) enjoyed great popularity among the lending-library patrons and in the last fourteen years of his life produced nineteen novels which spread over forty-three volumes. Of these the best known are Der Mäusefallen und Hechelkrämer, Der Alte Überall und Nirgends, Das Petermännchen and his play Klara von Hohenaichen.

Karl Gottlob Cramer (1758-1817) who started out as a student of theology at Leipzig, filled no fewer than ninety-three volumes with the adventures of such improbable men as Graf von Jericho and Herzog von Hudrischackschack. His name is today remembered, if at all, only for Nasper a Spada which, coarse and crude though it is, found a sympathetic public through its obvious satire on the social injustice and arbitrary rule of the time. One can, for instance, scarcely mistake the contemporary relevance of the passage:

> 'In der ganzen Natur gibt's kein härteres Ding als ein Fürstenherz. Sie sehen schöne Dirnen und Possenspiel': aber nicht die Noth ihrer Länder! Hören ihre Jagdhörner und Sängerinnen: aber nicht die Seufzer und Thränen der Armen!'

Indeed if one will look for a deeper reason for the immense success of the trivial novel beyond the obvious

fact of a low literary demand being met by low literary products, it must lie in the element of self-expression which the reader found in his heroes' dissatisfaction with existing conditions.

> 'Das Deutsche Reich existierte damals noch und die innere Zersplitterung desselben mit allen ihren Reichsunmittelbaren, kleinen mesquinen Höfen, Cabinetjustizen, fürstlichen Räten, Privilegien und Monopolen drückten den Einzelnen sehr. Er machte sich Luft im Romane; da werden Raubritter geköpft, Fürsten abgesetzt, Minister gehängt, Arme wieder reich gemacht, geknechtete Patrioten wieder zu Ehren gebracht, Maitressen in das Zuchthaus gesteckt u.s.w., kurz das Oberst zu Unterst gekehrt... Der grosse Beifall, den alle diese Dinge fanden, bewiesen zugleich, was der Deutsche empfand, zu denken liebte, zu tun sich fürchtete.'[1]

August H.J. Lafontaine (1758-1831), a soft-cored pastor in Halle, was one of the most productive of all, with some 150 volumes to his credit, their titles betraying for the most part the tearful contents, Gemäldesammlung zur Veredelung des Familienlebens, Die Gewalt der Liebe, Die Tochter der Natur, Theodor oder Kultur und Humanität. At times his prolificity so outpaced his imagination that he was forced to repeat the same episodes in his

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1) O.L.B. Wolff, Allgemeine Geschichte des Romans (Jena, 1850) p.459.

various works and to read one is to know all. He is said often to have dissolved into tears at the fate of his own characters and Pfeiffer-Belli tells us that he received sums of money from readers to assist the persecuted heroes of his Clara du Plessis (1794).[1] Here one is tempted to see an analogy with the too - familiar 'radio families' of our own day, in which, when a character 'dies' (because the actor has engage: ments elsewhere to fulfil) wreaths are sent and letters of condolence written by distressed listeners. And most of the things said 150 years ago about the pernicious effects of Gothic literature on the minds of the young, can still be read today in the television columns of the newspapers. This comparison is probably more accurate than that of a modern critic who likens the role of the popular novel to that of the present weekly magazines.[2] Müller-Fraureuth believes that escapism is the reason for the success:

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1) W.Pfeiffer-Belli, Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung (Freiburg, 1954) p.457.

2) De Boor and Newald, Geschichte der deutschen Literatur (Munich, 1957) Bd.VI, Teil 1, p.384.

> 'Auch in den Tiefen des Lebens schmachtet der Mensch, mitten auf der öden Lebenssteppe heimlich nach einem Trunke Begeisterung. Ob der Quell, aus dem er schöpft, rein ist, darnach fragt er nicht.'[1]

This is doubtless a present factor, but it explains neither the sudden emergence of the tendency nor its gruesome character.

Christian August Vulpius (1762-1827) brought new impetus to the movement as its energies flagged and his transference of the scene to Italy in Rinaldo Rinaldini inspired a further brigade of robber-chiefs to emerge from their dens.

Among the countless others we may notice the appearance of a woman novelist, Benedikt Naubert, whose affinity to Mrs. Radcliffe is obvious and whose works are hardly inferior to those of her male contemporaries.

The fearless exaggeration and intentional ridiculousness of much of this trivial literature is revealed by the very titles of many of the works, ranging from Schlenkert's Friedrich mit der gebissenen

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1) C. Müller-Fraureuth, Die Ritter- und Räuberromane (Halle, 1894) p.109.

Wange, an obvious echo of Gütz' iron hand, to such monstrosities as Gleich's Das Todtengericht um Mitternacht in den unterirdischen Schauerklüften or the quaint anonymous publication of 1769 Die verkehrte Welt welche anders spricht wie sie denkt und anders denkt wie sie spricht in dem Leben eines Jünglings aus eigener Erfahrung herausgegeben. In a movement boasting such width of subject and such profusion in quantity, it is more than probable that the work of English Gothic fiction would be quickly assimilated and absorbed once the process had got under way, but Walpole certainly, and probably Mrs. Radcliffe as well, were able to enjoy popularity and yet maintain their reputations as independent figures of note. Certainly all the principal works of the English Gothic school were quickly and, in general, well translated into German. According to Price[1] a translation of The Castle of Otranto under the title

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1) L.M. Price, English Literature in Germany (California, 1953) p.307.

Seltsame Begebenheiten im Schlosse Otranto, eine gotische Geschichte, aus dem Englischen appeared in Leipzig as early as 1768, fully twenty-five years before the better-known version by F.L.W. Meyer Die Burg von Otranto. Eine Gothische Geschichte (1794). Even earlier had been a French translation by Marc Antoine Eidous which was published in Amsterdam as Le château d'Otrante, histoire gothique (1767).

And Otranto was certainly read if not always admired by many German men of letters including Goethe, the sixth of whose Sechzehn Epigramme[1] is a verse called Die Burg von Otranto:

'Sind die Zimmer sämtlich besetzt der Burg von Otranto
Kommt, voll innigen Grimms, der erste Riesenbesitzer
Stückweis an und verdrängt die neuen falschen Bewohner.
Wehe den Fliehenden! weh den Bleibenden! Also geschieht e

The Old English Baron appeared in translation in Nürnberg in 1789, and any doubts as to Mrs. Radcliffe's reputation and popularity on the continent can swiftly

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1) Goethes Werke, Jubiläums-Ausgabe Bd. 2, p.82.

be dispelled by reference to Germany alone. The following four works were translated by D.M. Liebeskind:

a) Die nächtliche Erscheinung im Schlosse Mazzini (Hannover, 1792). (A Sicilian Romance).

b) Adeline oder das Abenteuer im Walde (Leipzig, 1793). (The Romance of the Forest).

c) Udolphos Geheimnisse (Riga, 1795). (The Mysteries of Udolpho).

d) Die Italiänerin, oder der Beichtstuhl der schwarzen Büssenden (Königsberg, 1797/99). (The Italian).

Evidence of the standard of Liebeskind's translation is found in a review of c), in which the writer states that with this work,

> 'kann man sich der Bemerkung nicht erwehren, dass über die Werke dieser fruchtbaren englischen Romanschreiberin ein besonders günstiges Verhängnis zu walten scheint, indem sie bisher immer guten Übersetzern und Übersetzerinnen in die Hände gefallen sind. Die malerische Schreibart des Originals ist so ungeschwächt übergetragen, dass keine ihrer sanften Farben etwas von ihrem milden Glanze verloren hat.'[1]

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1) Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung (1795) Nr.296.

It is presumably to d) above that Müller-Fraureuth[1] is referring when he speaks of a translation of 1789 Die Italienerin oder Bekenntnisse der schwarzen Büssenden but he mentions also a shorter version of 1801 which appeared as Ellena, die Italienerin oder die Warnung in den Ruinen von Paluzzi and a further adaptation by Bornschein in 1802 called Der Beichtstuhl which went through five editions.

In addition Price[2] lists a series of novels falsely ascribed to Radcliffe including eight in Germany between 1801-50, nine in France between 1798-1830 and two in Holland between 1817-20. This total of nineteen attempts by other people to use her name is of itself adequate testimony to her standing among the devotees of the Gothic novels. Nor presumably does this take into account such blatant imitations as Kerndörffer's Die Ruinen der Geisterburg

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1) C.Müller-Fraureuth, op. cit., p.84.
2) L.M. Price, op. cit., p.306.

oder die warnende Stimme um Mitternacht 'nach Radcliffe' (1805), or the French works of Mme. la Comtesse de Nardouet, Barbarinski (1818) and Le Panache Rouge (1824) 'imités de l'anglais d'A. Radcliffe.'

Of the German imitations and falsifications we are able to cite the following, and although most of the novels are no longer available for perusal, the titles themselves in most cases at once rule out the possibility that they are formed on any English original of Ann Radcliffe. Rather was her name favoured as that of a 'best-selling' novelist:
Die Einsiedlerin am Vesuv. Eine abenteuerliche Geschichte nach dem Englischen der Miss Anna Radcliffe (Leipzig, 1801).
Der Eremit am schwarzen Grabmahle, oder das Gespenst im alten Schlosse. Ein Ritterroman der Madme Anna Radcliffe. Frei übersetzt. (Wien, 1817).
Die Erscheinungen im Schlosse der Pyrenäen, frei nach dem Englischen der Anna Radcliffe, vom Verfasser des Admirals (Braunschweig, 1818), 4 vols.

Die Priorin. Frei nach dem Englischen der Anna Radcliffe, vom Verfasser der Centilles (Braunschweig, 1824). 3 vols.

Angelina oder die Abentheuer im Walde von Montalbano, aus dem Englischen der Miss Anna Radcliffe (Braunschweig, 1828), 4 vols.

Der Thurm von Aosta, oder Grossmuth im Tode. Das schwarze Schloss, oder der Sturm der Leidenschaften. Aus den nachgelassenen Papieren der Miss Anna Radcliffe (Braunschweig, 1829).

Die Todeswette. Roman in 2 Bänden von A. Radcliffe. Frei nach dem Englischen bearbeitet von L. von Alvenaleben (Meissen, 1830).

Faced with this evidence it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Ann Radcliffe in the period of 'pure' Gothicism at least, as we have defined it, was the most influential part of the English Gothic contribution to German literature, Walpole suffering from the numerical disadvantage of being represented almost entirely by one work.

Our ultimate purpose will be to bring more

specific evidence of this influence and to see what traces of it were continued into the main stream of German nineteenth century literature.

CHAPTER TWO

Tieck's Knowledge of the Gothic and Trivial Novels

Romanticism and Gothicism (in our sense) might seem as literary movements to have little or nothing in common, the latter being a fairly clearly-defined, easily-identified genre with a collection of episodes and devices of its own and a style of treatment scarcely noted for its subtlety. Romanticism on the other hand, originating as it did from a feeling of intellectual dissatisfaction or 'Weltschmerz' which, in its purest form, manifests itself as a mystic and indefinite yearning for some symbol of revelation, defies by its very nebulousness the critics' attempts at delineation and definition. But attempts to portray the movement as a spontaneous and impulsive upsurge unconnected with its direct literary predecessors, seem not to consider the process of organic development which we believe to be discernible. Its very name indicates its dependence upon the romances of the Middle Ages, its chivalric and idealistic content, and it seems to be demonstrable that the Gothic or trivial novel, by providing certain definite mental

conceptions and images and by nature of the material it uses, influences to some extent the development of the Romantic School.

For Friedrich Schlegel, the first romantic theorist in Germany, the two essential qualities of romanticism are its universality and infinity:

> 'Die Romantische Poesie ist eine progressive Universalpoesie. Ihre Bestimmung ist nicht bloss, alle getrennte Gattungen der Poesie wieder zu vereinigen, und die Poesie mit der Philosophie und Rhetorik in Berührung zu setzen. Sie will und soll auch Poesie und Prosa, Genialität und Kritik, Kunstpoesie und Naturpoesie bald mischen, bald verschmelzen, die Poesie lebendig und gesellig, und das Leben und die Gesellschaft poetisch machen...Die Romantische Poesie ist unter den Künsten, was der Witz der Philosophie, und die Gesellschaft, Umgang, Freundschaft, und Liebe im Leben ist. Andere Dichtarten sind fertig, und können nun vollständig zergliedert werden. Die romantische Dichtart ist noch im Werden; ja, das ist ihr eigentliches Wesen, dass sie ewig nur werden, nie vollendet sein kann.'[1]

To this abstract and theoretical definition we may add Novalis' statement on the practical application of the romantic method:

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1) Athenäum, 1798.

> 'Indem ich dem Gemeinen einen hohen Sinn, dem Gewöhnlichen ein geheimnisvolles Ansehen, dem Bekannten die Würde des Unbekannten, dem Endlichen einen unendlichen Schein gebe, so romantisiere ich es... Nichts ist romantischer, als was man gewöhnlich Welt und Schicksal nennt.'[1]

Does not this seem like a faint echo of what we have already heard from the Gothic theorists who, starting with the intention of portraying 'mere men and women .. in extraordinary positions', retreat to a situation in which the extraordinary is, in fact, a hinted animation of the natural world, where things have the appearance of being under the control of supernatural agency. The innate curiosity of man had been exploited by these popular writers, the fascination of phenomena apparently not subject to the empirical laws of nature, the mysterious stranger, whose importance derived from his unknown origin, the possibility that the spiritual world is all around us in our daily environment. To these factors, rendered void and meaningless by subsequent

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1) Novalis Schriften, ed. J. Minor (Jena, 1923) III, p.46.

attempts to explain them, the romanticists brought a genuine appeal to the irrational, the sincere belief, in Uhland's words, that 'das Unendliche umgibt den Menschen, das Geheimnis der Gottheit und der Welt.'

Romanticism is fundamentally interested in this 'Geheimnis der Gottheit', and its characteristic yearning ('Sehnsucht') is the attempt to discover and understand the nature of the mystery. Hence the preoccupation with the effect of external factors of unknown provenance on man's emotions, light, colour, music, landscape, beauty, and the ceaseless quest to find the explanation in those distant parts, whence they seem to emanate.

> 'Alles wird in der Entfernung Poesie: ferne Berge, ferne Menschen, ferne Begebenheiten. Alles wird romantisch.'[1]

For the study of this gradual process of transformation to romanticism, no writer is more

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1) Novalis. Quoted from M. Praz, The Romantic Agony (Oxford U.P., 1951) p.14.

suitable than Ludwig Tieck, whose creative life spans some sixty years for, starting in the manner of the contemporary trivial writers, he was to become celebrated as co-founder of the Romantic School in German literature, only to withdraw from the movement in his later years in disapproval of its vulgarisation and artistic decay.

Ludwig Tieck was born in 1773, the year of Götz von Berlichingen and Lenore, into a Germany whose literature was in the state of ferment already described, yet more immediately, as a child of Berlin, into the last stronghold of the dying age of Enlightenment, now led by the bookseller Friedrich Nicolai and characterised, as Boyesen says, by 'narrowness of vision, a certain crude, intellectual complacency, utter absence of imagination, extreme utilitarianism, and consequent hostility to everything which points beyond this temporal sphere of existence.'[1]

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1) H.H. Boyesen,'Social Aspects of the German Romantic School', in Atlantic Monthly, 36 (1875), p.50.

From earliest childhood sensitive and impressionable, Tieck quickly became familiar with the books on his father's shelves and he himself tells us of the impact which Goethe and Schiller made upon him in his early years:

> 'Die frühern Werke Göthe's waren die erste Nahrung meines Geistes gewesen. Ich hatte das Lesen gewissermassen im Berlichingen gelernt. Durch dieses Gedicht hatte meine Phantasie für immer eine Richtung nach jenen Zeiten, Gegenden, Gestalten, und Begebenheiten bekommen... aber am meisten ward ich durch die neu auftretende Kraft Schillers zerrissen und vernichtet.' [1]

His biographer Köpke[2] tells how intensely he 'lived' all that he read and describes the ensuing disillusionment of the young boy when told that Götz and his companions were not living beings but mere characters in a book written by a man who lived in Weimar. At this stage the attraction for him lay in the vigour and vitality of the action with its colourful mediaeval setting and powerful characterisation,

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1) Ludwig Tieck's Schriften, VI, vi. This edition was published in 28 volumes in Berlin by Reimer between 1828 and 1854. Hereafter this work will be referred to as T.S.

2) R.Köpke, op.cit., I, p.12f.

for there was as yet no question of literary evaluation, and soon Tieck was reaching indiscriminately for works of similar nature to satisfy his over-imaginative mind. As his appetite for books exceeded the resources of the family library, this ability to experience the episodes he is reading remains with him when he turns to the less edifying fare offered by the lending libraries.

At this period then comes his engrossment in the trivial works discussed in the preceding section, and without being able to be too specific as to what the actual books were, all his critics admit the fact:

> 'With avidity he devoured books, regardless of their subject and literary importance... tales of horror, stories of notorious robberies, novels of high knightly emprise, and other works of a trashy, sub-literary nature, were his steady companions. His zest for reading was so keen that he overtaxed his imagination and undermined his health.'[1]

> 'Mit der Unersättlichkeit des Heisshungers verfolgte er Alles, was in dramatischer oder dialogischer Form geschrieben war.'[2]

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1) E.H. Zeydel, Ludwig Tieck, the German Romanticist (Princeton, 1935) p.8.

2) Köpke, op. cit., I, p.42.

It was at this time too that he made his first acquaintance with Shakespeare in the form of Bachenburg's translation of Hamlet which was passed on to him by a schoolmate. We know something of the tremendous admiration which Tieck was later to develop for Shakespeare, of his life-long project for a book which would be an adequate tribute to this greatest of all poets, of his researches into Elizabethan drama and the translations which he undertook with his daughter Dorothea and Graf Baudissin. But what the fifteen-year-old first found in Shakespeare is seen in a letter written to Wackenroder in 1792:

> 'Auch für das Fürchterliche, Schauerliche, Angsterregende sind die Seelen sehr verschieden gestimmt; als ich den Shakespeare zum erstenmal sehr flüchtig durchlas, erschien mir alles in einem düsteren, fürchterlichen Lichte, über alles Angenehme hatte ich hinweggelesen, und ich entdeckte dies erst gleichsam, nachdem ich diese Stücke mehr als einmal gelesen hatte.'[1]

It is the frightening and the gloomy, those

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1) Wackenroder, Werke und Briefe, ed. Friedrich von der Leyen (Jena, 1910) II, p.23.

elements so common to the trivial literature, which had been to this time his staple diet, that he at first finds so arresting in Shakespeare, and it is not without significance that the two Shakespearean works which most influence his own youthful dramas are Hamlet and Macbeth, both with predominant ghost-themes. And perhaps a further indication of where his interests lie is found in the fact that his first critical work on Shakespeare was an essay on 'Shakespeares Behandlung des Wunderbaren' published in 1796, by which time he had of course come to a deeper appreciation both of the poetic content and also of Shakespeare's artistic use of the supernatural compared with that of the popular writers of the late eighteenth century. Half a century later, on 1 March 1853, only eight weeks before his death, he writes to Graf Yorck von Wartenburg on the subject of the irrational and supernatural in human experience:

> 'Das ist ein Feld, nach welcher
> Kenntnis ich mich immer gesehnt habe,
> mit Eifer streben wollte und doch

> nichts bedeutendes aus dieser Welt erfuhr. Hier ist es, wo Wahrheit, Schein, Unmöglichkeit, Täuschung und die wundersamste Poesie und Prosa sich einander berühren.'[1]

Right up until the end, the fantastic, particularly in its relation to the world of reality, had held his attention.

In 1792 Tieck left home to matriculate as a student in the University of Halle, and his continued preoccupation with novels of a sensational kind during this period is revealed in the correspondence with Wackenroder, who had had to remain in Berlin. These letters are important not only for the light they shed on the affectionate relationship in which the two poetic young men stood to each other, but also for the discussions of books and literature which they contain, for one is constantly surprised at the immaturity and lack of critical judgement which becomes apparent. The work of greatest significance for our purposes in its effect upon Tieck in Halle was

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1) From H.L. Fischer, Aus Berlins Vergangenheit (Berlin, 1891) p.176.

that by 'Marquis' Carl Grosse, Der Genius,[1] which Tieck read aloud to some friends, and his description of the scene in a letter of 12 June 1792 to Wackenroder[2] again reveals that complete identification of himself with the hero and his sufferings, which we found in his youthful reading of Götz von Berlichingen:

> 'Lieber W., wenn Du recht glücklich sein willst auf mehrere Stunden, so lies den zweiten Teil vom Genius, der diese Ostermesse herausgekommen ist, er hat mich äusserst glücklich gemacht, es ist fast gar nichts Wunderbares darin, aber ich habe mich so ganz und gar darin wiedergefunden, alle meine Lieblingsideen so schön ausgeführt, dass ich dem Verfasser ausserordentlich gut geworden bin; lies ihn nächstens und besonders aufmerksam die Szenen bei dem Einsiedler, dies ist nach meiner Meinung das Schönste, der Triumph des Verfassers, so dachte ich mir meinen Almanaur (wenn Du Dich noch dieses flüchtigen Aufsatzes erinnerst) dies war mein Ideal, so hatt' ich schreiben, so alles sagen wollen.'

He goes on to describe the scene as he reads the

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1) Der Genius. Aus den Papieren des Marquis C + von C+++ (Halle, 1791). The author was Carl Grosse. The English translation of this work, Horrid Mysteries, is mentioned by Jane Austen in Northanger Abbey.

2) Wackenroder, Werke und Briefe, op.cit., p.50.

work to his friends Schwinger and Schmohl. Starting at 4 p.m. he takes five hours for the first volume and it is after 2 a.m., when, in a state of exhaustion and frenzy, he finishes the novel, to find that his friends had, unnoticed by him, already gone to bed. Now in his overheated brain the horrors of the story are played over again and he falls into a coma:

> 'Tausend grosse Vorsätze schwebten auf goldenen Wolken um mich her und winkten mir lächelnd entgegen... süsse Töne wie abgebrochene Gesänge schwärmten um mein träumendes Ohr, rosenfarbene Bilder umgaukelten mich mit blauen Schmetterlingsflügeln, - als plötzlich - noch schaudre ich, wenn ich daran denke, noch kann ich die Möglichkeit nich begreifen - als wie in einem grünenden Hügel, alle blumenvollen Täler gingen plötzlich unter, und schwarze Nacht und grause Totenstille, gräßliche Felsen stiegen ernst und furchtbar auf, jeder liebliche Ton wie verweht, Schrecken umflog mich, Schauder die gräßlichsten bliesen mich an, alles ward um mich lebendig, Schatten jagten sich schrecklich um mich herum, mein Zimmer war als flöge es mit mir in eine fürchterliche schwarze Unendlichkeit hin, alle meine Ideen stiessen gegeneinander, die grosse Schranke fiel donnernd ein, vor mir eine grosse, wüste Ebne, die Zügel entfielen meiner Hand, die Rosse rissen den Wagen unaufhaltsam mit sich, ich fühlte es wie mein Haar sich aufrichtete, brüllend stürzte ich in die Kammer...'

Here he is struck with horror at the sight of Schmohl's night-attire and makes him put on his coat, but still whenever he closes his eyes:

> '..war mir als schwämme ich auf einem Strom, als löste sich mein Kopf ab und schwämme rückwärts, der Körper vorwärts.'

On opening his eyes:

> '..war mir's, als läg ich in einem weiten Totengewölbe, drei Särge nebeneinander, ich sehe deutlich die weissen, schimmernden Gebeine, alles dehnte sich in eine fürchterliche Länge...'

Tieck goes on in his letter to speak of the fear that he may become mad and recalls other incidents from the past which have similarly made him doubt his sanity. To this question of Tieck's nature and his demonic propensities we shall have to return later, but for the meantime we may note the fascination of this ghastly tale and the concentration upon it which kept the young student engaged for ten hours, oblivious of his surroundings, stamping a series of vivid images on his mind.

One may well enquire what kind of novel this

might be, but suffice to say, that for a modern reader with sufficient determination to read it through, our sympathies are entirely with those who went to bed. The Monthly Review,[1] speaking of the English translation by Joseph Trapp, finds it inferior to Grosse's previous work and adds:

> 'This novel belongs to the terrible school... scenes of supernatural horror, ill connected, in frightful succession agitate the reader.'

Tieck's utter lack of a critical standard of literary judgement in his reading is revealed by further reference to Der Genius in another letter to Wackenroder of the same month, in which Goethe, Florian and Grosse are placed side by side in ascending order of importance:

> 'Unterlass ja nicht, den zweiten Teil des Genius zu lesen, er ist schöner als der erste. Ich habe Dir dies Buch schon und den Tasso empfohlen, ich will Dir jetzt noch ein andres mehr als Tasso und beinahe mehr als der Genius empfehlen, die Estelle von Florian, es ist ein Schäferroman, ein wahres Meisterstück.'[2]

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1) The Monthly Review 22, (1797), p.93.

2) Wackenroder. Werke und Briefe op.cit., p.85.

This unhappy juxtaposition is not without importance as a commentary on the literary develop:ment of the nineteen-year-old Tieck, whose later praise for Goethe's and Schiller's youthful works, coupled with his own hostility towards his contemporary novelists, have led some critics to misrepresent him as picking his way selectively through the voluminous products of his age. Tieck, the voracious reader and student of theology, was more interested in finding new stimulants for his imagination than in contemplating the aesthetics of literature.

From this same letter we may notice that he has also been occupied with Goethe's one excursion into 'mystic magic', Gross-Kophta, while Köpke [1] tells elsewhere of his admiration for Schiller's Der Geisterseher, similarly concerned with the scientific supernatural.

In all probability his first acquaintance with contemporary English novels dates from about the same

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1) R. Köpke, op. cit., II, p.197.

period, for the first reference occurs in a letter of the following year written from Göttingen to his sister Sophie (12 October 1793), in which he praises Anna St. Ives (1792) by Thomas Holcroft. How knowledgeable he was to become in this sphere also will gradually become more apparent.

'Jeder Mensch hat seine Narrheit und seinen Wahnsinn; ich bin ein unverbesserlicher Büchernarr,' Tieck once told Köpke,[1] and the truth of this remark becomes evident by reference to the catalogue of his library published in 1849 by A. Asher,[2] who had undertaken to auction the collection which had reached such proportions that it seemed likely to be about to drive Tieck out of his own home. By this time the library contained no fewer than 16,000 volumes ranging over a wide variety of subjects and languages, and so indispensable had it become to his surroundings that immediately the collection was sold

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1) R. Köpke, op. cit., II, p.133.

2) Catalogue de la bibliothèque célèbre de M. Ludwig Tieck qui sera vendue à Berlin le 10. décembre 1849 par Mm. A. Asher et Comp (Berlin, 1849).

he recommenced to build up a second library which in the following three years soon grew to 11,000 volumes.

Clearly one cannot wish to draw too far-reaching conclusions from the mere possession of certain authors, but our view that Tieck was for all his derision and invective a life-long and enthusiastic reader - perhaps even against his better judgement - of the contemporary trivial novel, is well borne out by the contents of this catalogue. The complete catalogue, which runs to 362 pages, offers some 7,930 numbered lots, of which 1,619 are in the field of German language and literature and 742 in English language and literature. Among the authors represented in the former group are C.G. Cramer, C.H. Spiess, Veit Weber, C. Grosse, F. Rambach and A. Lafontaine, who share 65 volumes, while the English section contains among many others:

Ann Radcliff: Gaston de Blondeville (London, 1826) 4 vols. There are two copies of this work.

The Mysteries of Udolpho (London, 1794) 4 vols.

Horace Walpole: Works (London, 1798) 5 vols.
Correspondence with George Montagu (London, 1837) 3 vols.
Reminiscences, written in 1788 (London, 1817).
Catalogue of the Royal and Noble Authors of England (Dublin, 1759).

M.G. Lewis: Tales of Wonder (Vienna, 1805) 3 vols.
His Life and Correspondence (London, 1839).

as well as Dunlop's History of Fiction (1814) and Rellstab's German translation (1826) of Scott's treatise on the life and works of English novelists.[1]

We may justly say that Tieck's written attitude to these novelists is at all times derisory, yet we feel certain that they held a certain fascination for

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1) This fascinating catalogue also reveals that Tieck possessed 124 volumes of Sir Walter Scott's novels, most of them in English but some German and Italian translations; no fewer than four complete editions of the works of Burns, and G. Buchanan's Rerum Scoticarum Historia published in 1583, among a large collection of works by Scottish authors or on Scottish subjects.

him during the whole of his life. He felt that popularity was inevitably in direct proportion to the number of 'bad passages' ('schlechte Stellen') in the book and thus a sign of low taste. This idea he expands in Die Sieben Weiber des Blaubart:[1]

> 'Einem Buche, wenn es gefallen soll, sind die schlechten Stellen ... eben so nothwendig, wo nicht nothwendiger, als die guten. Der Beweis ist leicht zu führen: Wir sehn es alle Tage, dass Bücher von allen Lesern mit der grössten Begierde gelesen werden, die kaum zwei bis drei erträgliche Stellen aufzuweisen haben; dass im Gegentheil unsere klassischen Autoren, die vortrefflich sind, nur dass sie den Fehler haben, dass sie so gar nicht auf schlechte Stellen ausgegangen sind, ungelesen bleiben. So oft ich über Göthe's Werke urtheilen höre, wird es mir deutlich, ja die Menschen sagen es mir fast mit dürren Worten, wie sie sehr schlecht damit zufrieden sind, dass es durchgängig gut ist.'

Julian Schmidt's judgement on this condescending attitude of the romanticists is particularly true of Tieck:

> 'Die Dichter der deutschen romantischen Schule, sehr gefeiert aber herzlich wenig gelesen, konnten sich des dringenden

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1) T.S. IX, 176.

> Verdachts nicht erwehren, dass ein Schriftsteller, der die rohe Menge zu gewinnen wisse, nothwendig mit dieser Menge verwandt sei.'[1]

Thus Friedrich Schlegel, discussing his brother August's work on Walpole which he was to publish in the following year,[2] writes to him:

> 'Wir - denn ich habe den ganzen Aufsatz mit Tieck zusammen gelesen - halten diesen Menschen für ein durchaus schlechtes Subjekt, und in der That begreife ich

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1) J. Schmidt, Walter Scott. Bilder aus dem geistigen Leben unserer Zeit (Leipzig, 1870) p.95. It was probably the popularity of Sir Walter Scott which helped Tieck to see strong affinities between him and the much-maligned Cramer; in the preface to a new edition of Schnabel's Insel Felsenburg (see below) in 1828 Tieck surprisingly defends this horror-monger and adds: 'Wer zuckt nicht über den verschollenen Cramer und seine rohen Ritterromane jetzt die Achseln? Selbst der Gemeinheit ist er zu gemein geworden, und doch schreit den feinsten Lesern aus manchem neuen gefeierten Autor das Ähnliche entgegen, ohne dass sie es im Enthusiasmus bemerken: manche Kapitel des weltberühmten Walter Scott erinnern mich an jene herabgesetzten Bücher, ohne dass ich darum das grosse Talent und die Erfindungsgabe dieses Autors zu verkennen brauche.' Insel Felsenburg (Breslau, 1828) p.xlv. Fortunately Tieck never lived to see Walter Freye's study The Influence of 'Gothic' Literature on Sir Walter Scott (Rostock, 1902) in which Das Petermännchen by the horror-monger Spiess is amazingly attributed to 'the celebrated Tieck' (p.60). See page 70, note 2.

2) Historische, literarische und unterhaltende Schriften von Horatio Walpole, übersetzt von A.W. Schlegel (Leipzig, 1800).

> doch nicht wie einer der etwas so nach allen Seiten hin unendlich plattes geschrieben hat, wie das Castle of Otranto, je etwas sagen könnte was geistreich wäre. Wenn der geistreich ist, so ist Jenisch wohl genialisch. Tieck meynte Walpole wäre schon zu viel Redens von ihm, besser nennte man ihn bloss Pole!'[1]

This letter is dated 1799, and yet forty years later Tieck's interest in Walpole is still sufficiently great for him to request a bookdealer in Leipzig to obtain a copy of Walpole's three-volume Correspondence[2] to add to the other works which he has accumulated in the interim. Derision and fascination, the 'Gothic dichotomy'. Could not Franzesko have been speaking of Tieck himself in William Lovell when he says:

> 'Ich habe Leute gesehen, die Geschmack hatten und die abgeschmacktesten verschimmel:
> :ten Scharteken mit einem solchen Eifer zusammenkauften, als wenn es ihre Lieblings:
> :schriftsteller gewesen wären.'[3]

A further reference by Tieck to Otranto we shall

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1) Friedrich Schlegels Briefe an seinen Bruder August Wilhelm, ed. O. Walzel (Berlin, 1890) p.417.

2) Letters of Ludwig Tieck 1792-1853, ed. Zeydel, Matenko and Fife (New York, 1937) p.442. The letter is dated 29. 3. 1839.

3) T.S. VII , 178.

notice later; but we may conveniently at this point refer to his appraisal of Mrs. Radcliffe which is found in his Novelle Das Zauberschloss, written in 1829 and first published in Urania in 1830.[1]

In this story Freimund has recently purchased a country-house, Graupenheim, which has the reputation of being haunted as the result of some evil deed committed there in the past. Henriette's reaction to this is:

> 'Was ich mir das immer gewünscht habe, ein solches Sommerhaus zu bewohnen, wo es etwas unheimlich zugeht, wo einem alle die guten und schlechten Romane der Miss Radcliff in jeder dunkeln stube, in einer Buchenlaube, oder in einem unterirdischen Gange beifallen: Statt dass man sonst fragt: sind die Schwalben schon eingekehrt? ist der Storch in sein altes Nest wieder gekommen? erkundigt man sich nun: Geht es heuer viel um? Gerathen die Schauder in diesem Herbste gut? Was macht Ihr lieber guter Spuk? Lässt sich das graue Männchen wieder sehen? Welche Späße haben sich dies Jahr die Unterirdischen ausgedacht? Nein, nein, da muss ich bei Euch wohnen, und mein Stübchen muss recht einsam liegen! Abends, beim dämmernden Lampenschein lieset uns dann Mansfeld etwas recht Grauerliches vor, wir

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1) Das Zauberschloss T.3. XXI.

> Alle entsetzen uns, keiner will zu Bette gehen, endlich nimmt man mit Herzklopfen Abschied, und ich sitze nun allein da und fahre vor meinem eigenen Schatten zurück und wage nicht das Licht zu putzen oder auszulöschen. Nun hört man's auf dem Gange schleichen, die Bäume rauschen so sonderbar, es schlägt so dumpf zwölf in der Ferne...'[1]

This irony at Mrs. Radcliffe's expense is admittedly light-handed and gentle, yet all the devices which he mockingly attributes to her, do in fact occur, as a later chapter will show, in his own works. This passage however serves here to establish Tieck's first-hand knowledge of Mrs. Radcliffe and of his familiarity with the methods she employs.

Nor are we lacking in evidence from England of Tieck's surprising knowledge of even the most insignificant English writers. In company with his friend Burgsdorff, Tieck had arrived in London in May 1817 on the only visit he ever made to this country;

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1) T.S. XXI, p.194.

some four weeks later he accepted an invitation to a 'dies attico-germanico'[1] from Samuel Taylor Coleridge, whom he had met several years earlier in Rome, and the latter's opinion of Tieck is found in a letter to J.H. Frere of June 27, 1817:

> 'He (Tieck) is intimately acquainted with the literature of Spain, Portugal, Italy and England, in addition to that of his own Country and to his classical Erudition - in truth, he is well acquainted with the writers of every European Country, and reads the originals - but his intimacy with all our writers, even the most obscure, from Chaucer to Dryden inclusive, above all with the contemporaries of Shakespeare is ASTONISHING![2]

On the same visit Tieck had made the acquaintance of the industrious Henry Crabb Robinson, who later visited him in Dresden and notes in his diary for 23 August 1829:

> 'Tieck's literary opinions appear to me correct... He appreciates as they merit all our classics, Richardson and Fielding, but he likes even Smollett's Peregrine Pickle. He loves Sterne....

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1) J.M. Carré in Revue Germanique VIII. (Jan.1912) p.38.

2) E.L. Griggs, JEGPh 54 (1955), 263.

He is by no means narrow in his taste.'[1]

One further source for Tieck's acquaintance with trivial literature remains to be mentioned, namely the period he spent in the employ of Nicolai, the defender of the Enlightenment faith, after his return from the University of Erlangen in 1794. Tieck was engaged by Nicolai to revive the series of Straussfedern, begun by J.K.A. Musäus and continued after his death in 1787 by J.G. Müller, who had in turn lost enthusiasm for the project. These tales, whose dual purpose was to amuse and moralise, were for the most part adaptations from old, obscure French originals which Nicolai delivered to Tieck '... in ganzen Waschkörben zur Verarbeitung und Zubereitung.'[2] Tieck's willingness to enlist in the service of the Enlightenment which he so despised has earned him harsh treatment from later critics, who seem to forget that he was at the time a virtually unknown writer with no regular source of income,

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1) Henry Crabb Robinson, op. cit., I, 374.
2) Köpke, op. cit., I, 201.

endeavouring as many before him, to finance himself by means of this hack work. He tells us of his dislike for the work and simultaneously reveals once more that interest in English and German lesser literature, disguised as always by the customary tone of condescension:

> 'Dazu kam noch, dass mir Müller und selbst Musäus nicht in dem Lichte erschienen, dass ich sie mir gern als Muster vorsetzte, am wenigsten konnte ich mich aber mit jener leichten französischen Waare in einen Handel einlassen, da ich für die Engländer und einige Deutsche, die nach meinem Gefühle verkannt wurden, schwärmte. Indessen liess ich mich durch Freunde bereden, und viele Novellen, Bibliotheque de Campagne und wie ähnliche Sammlungen heissen, wurden mir zugesendet. Es half mir fort, dass ich schon vor Jahren in diesen Schriften, von denen mir seitdem nur wenige im Gedächtnis geblieben sind, ziemlich belesen war, und auch so ziemlich die beliebten deutschen Bücher kannte, die von den Ausländern entlehnt hatten.'[1]

Tieck's relations with the younger Nicolai, Karl August, who took over the business from his father, were no happier, for the latter, intent only

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1) T.S. XI, xxxii.

on publishing as much material as possible, without thought for its literary merit, required Tieck to prepare for the press translations of contemporary English novels. Writing in 1829, thirty-four years later, he says:

> 'Als ich die Sachen gelesen hatte, suchte ich ihm, da sie mir alle schlecht und verwerflich schienen, sein Vorhaben auszureden; aber vergeblich. Ich musste ihm wenigstens die Bücher aussuchen, die ich fur die bessern, oder weniger schlechten erkannte, und diese waren: der Demokrat, das Schloss Montford und das Kloster Netley.'[1]

From this selection of the best works we have some idea of the English blood and thunders which must have occupied his time, and looking back, the

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1) T.S. XI, x. The originals are The Democrat, interspersed with Anecdotes of well-known Characters (Minerva Press, 1795) 2 vols. By H.J. Pye, the poet-laureate.
Montford Castle; or the Knight of the White Rose. An Historical Romance of the XIth. Century (Crosby, 1796) 2 vols.
Netley Abbey: a Gothic Story (By Rev. Richard Warner) (London, 1795) 2 vols.
Wackenroder in fact undertook the German translations and it would be interesting to study them as products of the most delicate and sensitive intellect of all the German Romanticists, at work upon hackneyed and sensational themes.

totality of evidence amounts to a clear proof of his knowledge of a wide selection of English trivial literature. It was inevitable for one so impressionable and so imaginative that these works contributed to his own literary stock and were later to be continually drawn upon by the mature writer. The Gothic novels were, at least in the hands of the lesser authors, by nature repetitive and similar in their choice of themes and characters. For this reason an accurate analysis of their influence is made difficult due to this thematic inter-borrowing, the various authors striving for success by intensification of emotion and effect rather than by concentration upon stylistic and literary merits. In this account we have not regarded Tieck's genuine admiration for the main stream of English literature with which he was so familiar, our purpose being rather to assemble the scattered and previously disregarded evidence of his equal familiarity with the literary backwaters, in order to establish a

connection or perhaps even a continuation in his own works.

Let us now look at his knowledge of the corresponding German novels.

We have spoken of the 'Gothic dichotomy', the simultaneous attraction and repulsion felt for a certain kind of sub-literary work (not that the phenomenon as such is by any means restricted to literature). One is involuntarily reminded of some words of Walter Scott:

> 'But when the public have been surprised into an universal burst of applause, it is their custom to indemnify themselves by a corresponding degree of censure; just as children, when tired of admiring a new play-thing, find a fresh and distinct pleasure in breaking it to pieces.'[1]

This is supremely true of Tieck's attitude which was from the first derisory, all mention of specific works of the 'Schauerromantiker' being accompanied by contempt either implicit or expressed. Yet the mere frequency with which he returns to these works and

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1) Ballantyne's Novelist's Library, X, xx.

the space he devotes to denigrating them, reflect the necessity he felt to keep reminding himself of their actual worthlessness. In point of fact the role of the horror and sentimental literature was in its time so great that it simply could not be ignored by a man who had chosen the profession of letters. What Railo says of Byron and the terror-writers is word for word true of Tieck:

> 'He knew the works of the school and the effect aimed at did not leave him unmoved. Although he affected an ironical, even a contemptuous attitude, terror-romanticism with all its well-known phrases flowed at frequent intervals from his own pen, showing that in spite of his mockings he was himself influenced by the literary images of his day.'[1]

For many the novel had still not been accepted as a legitimate form of literary activity, restricted to those unable to weave the threads of poetry or work within the confining limits of the drama, and there is something to be said for the view that the Novelle, to be carefully distinguished from the

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1) Railo, op. cit., p.148.

'novel', was in part a product of the disreputable character of the latter genre as the vehicle of narrative prose.

> 'I will not adopt that ungenerous and impolitic custom, so common with novel writers, of degrading, by their contemptuous censure, the very performances to the number of which they are themselves adding; joining with their greatest enemies in bestowing the harshest epithets on such works, and scarcely ever permitting them to be read by their own heroine, who, if she accidentally take up a novel, is sure to turn over its insipid pages with disgust... There seems almost a general wish of decrying the capacity and undervaluing the labour of the novelist, and of slighting the performances which have only genius, wit and taste to recommend them. 'I am no novel reader - I seldom look into novels - It is really very well for a novel.' Such is the common cant.'

Thus Jane Austen.[1]

Tieck's Peter Lebrecht, eine Geschichte ohne Abentheuerlichkeiten,[2] although not written for the series, falls into the period of the Straussfedern, and as the title suggests it is a persiflage of the

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1) Northanger Abbey (London,1880) p.21f.

2) Part 1, T.S., XIV; Part 2, T.S. XV.

works of adventure and imagination, the satire getting at times such control over the writer that it is even turned against himself. He opens with what he claims to be the accepted style of introduction for a novelist who wishes to attract attention.

> 'Der Sturmwind rasselte in den Fenstern der alten Burg Wallenstein. Die Mitternacht lag schwarz über dem Gefilde ausgestreckt, und Wolken jagten sich durch den Himmel, als Ritter Karl von Wallenstein auf seinem schwarzen Rosse die Burg verliess, und unverdrossen dem pfeifenden Winde entgegen trabte. Als er um die Ecke des Waldes bog, hört er neben sich ein Geräusch, sein Rosse bäumte, und eine weissliche Schattengestalt drängte sich aus den Gebüschen hervor.'[1]

At this point he decides to abandon such a style and introduces a few remarks on the ingredients which go to make up the popular novel. The list of components and the actual works he quotes are interesting:

> 'Riesen, Zwerge, Gespenster, Hexen, etwas Mord und Todtschlag, Mondschein und Sonnenuntergang, dies mit Liebe und Empfindsamkeit versüsslicht, um es glatter hinunterzubringen, sind ungefähr die Ingredienzen, aus denen das ganze Heer der neuesten Erzählungen, vom Petermännchen bis

1) T.S. XIV, p.163.

> zur Burg Otranto, vom Genius bis zum Hechelkrämer, besteht. Der Marquis von Grosse hat dem Geschmack aller Lesegesellschaften eine andere Richtung gegeben, aber sie haben sich zugleich an seinem spanischen Winde den Magen verdorben; mit Herrn Spiess hat man sich gewöhnt, Überall und Nirgends zu sein; und keine Erzählung darf jetzt mehr Anspruch machen, gelesen, zu werden, wenn der Leser nicht vorhersieht, dass ihm wenigstens die Haare dabei bergan stehen werden.'[1]

The Genius is again ridiculed for the utter extravagance of its action in the Strausfedern-tale Der Fremde, where he writes:

> 'Ich hoffe, der Verfasser des Genius und des Memoirs des Grafen von G., hat nicht den Schriftstellerglauben so sehr durchlöchert, dass nicht noch mancher derbere Leser in dem Netze sollte stecken bleiben.'[2]

In fact, as we have already seen, this work had been recommended by Tieck to Wackenroder in the same breath with Goethe's Tasso[3] and had so gripped his imagination on reading it that he had felt himself

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1) T.S. XIV, 164. Das Petermännchen, Der Mäusefallen und der Hechelkrämer, Der Alte Überall und Nirgends are all by T.H. Spiess. Der Genius is by C.Grosse, Die Burg Otranto by H. Walpole.

2) T.S. XIV, 127.

3) Wackenroder, Werke und Briefe op.cit., p.85.

approaching the borders of insanity.[1] But accepting the fact that such a novel as the Genius cannot make claim to any permanent literary value, it is neverthe: :less useless to deny the power of its mystery and the appeal of its morality when these have earlier been so positively established by Tieck himself. In the light of this we are justifiably suspicious of his later remarks that the most surprising thing of all to him is that anyone should ever read such nonsense.

Part II of Peter Lebrecht resumes in the same vein, firstly by deploring the endless repetition of 'die schönen Empfindungen', so that the reader can break off the story at any point and open it up again at random for the next bout of horror and sentiment without noticeable loss of continuity. Surely, he says, the boredom of the works is sufficient punishment for the reader's lack of taste in reading them, and then:

'Wir lachen mit Cervantes über den

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1) Wackenroder. Werke und Briefe, op. cit., p.50.

> Unsinn der Ritterbücher, und doch liest ein grosser Theil von eben diesen Menschen das Thurnier zu Nordhausen, den klugen Alten, den braunen Robert. Ich habe nur einige Blicke in diese Bücher geworfen, und bin darüber erstaunt, nicht gerade, dass sie so geschrieben sind, sondern, dass solcher Unsinn schwarz auf weiss existiert.'[1]

How completely Tieck conforms to the pattern of Jane Austen, 'I seldom look into novels', 'Ich habe nur einige Blicke in diese Bücher geworfen', clearly a preposterous statement. And as if to justify absolutely her condemnation of the novelists' habit of degrading, 'by their contemptuous censure, the very performances to the number of which they are

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1) T.S. XV, 20f. Das Thurnier zu Nordhausen, Der Kluge Mann (not Kluge Alte), Der Braune Robert are all by Cramer. In his Novelle Eine Sommerreise (T.S. XXIII) Tieck gives an account of a meeting with Cramer and there admits his youthful familiarity with the works of this man:

> 'Ich sah den Mann, er ist gross, ziemlich corpulent, und sein Gesicht eins von denen, die das Glück und die Auszeichnung haben, gar keinen Ausdruck zu besitzen... Glücklicher Weise habe ich in früheren Jahren, weil ich ein unnützer Bengel war, die meisten Romane dieses Cramer, vom Erasmus Schleicher bis zum Paul Yaco, gelesen.' (p.120).

themselves adding, Tieck promises to devote himself next to the 'Volksmärchen' and almost apologetically adds:

> 'Ich hoffe, ich habe durch diese Ankündigung so viele Blössen gegeben, dass der Leser sich unmittelbar mit mir aussöhnen wird; denn wie habe ich nur noch Recht, die gangbaren Produkte zu verspotten, da ich selber Beiträge zu ihrer Vermehrung liefere?'[1]

If such a passage seems tantamount to a confession of his own insincerity, it does not mean that his ridicule of the popular novel was over. Further examples could be accumulated almost indefinitely; Lafontaine's Sonderling is dismissed as a collection of 'Unnatürlichkeiten' und Unwahrscheinlichkeiten',[2] and of his other works:

> 'Übrigens seien diese Bücher vielleicht kein Futter für jenes bekannte Thier, welches man kurzweg die Nachwelt zu nennen pflege: denn er, so wie das übrige gegenwärtige Zeitalter, lässen die etwanigen Kerne heraus, und sie schmeckten ihnen.'[3]

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1) T.S. XV, 22.

2) Die Sieben Weiber des Blaubart T.S. IX, 107.

3) Ein Tagebuch T.S. XV, 333.

Still worse was to come in an article on

Die neuesten Musenalmanache und Taschenbücher 1796-8,

where he says of Lafontaine:

> 'Dieser Schriftsteller, der nur die Natur aus einigen und nicht den besten Büchern zu kennen scheint, besitzt die Kunst, uns Charaktere vorzustellen, die gar nichts Charakteristisches haben und doch wahre Ungeheuer sind... Wo Pathos sein soll, finden wir fast immer Gemeinheit. Wenn ein feuriger Liebhaber, nachdem er seine Geliebte auf die Probe gestellt hat, in einem Brief an einen Freund ausruft: Sie ist mein; und wäre sie vom Kopfe bis zum Fusse eine einzige Eiterbeule, so ist sie mein! - so weiss ich nicht, ob man einen solchen Darsteller mehr verlacht oder bemitleidet. Übrigens habe ich diese Stelle nur aus dem Gedächtnis citirt.'[1]

We may well wonder why Tieck continued to read such an author, let alone quote him from memory, yet in 1811 in the introduction to Phantasus he is still talking derogatively of Lafontaine, Spiess and Cramer.[2] Veit Weber is another who receives the same treatment, as in Die Sieben Weiber des Blaubart:

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1) Tiecks Kritische Schriften (Leipzig, 1848) I, 102.
2) T.S. IV, 26f.

'Wenn Ihr mir aber einige Personen des Veit Weber einwenden wollt, so weiss ich Euch darauf freilich nicht zu antworten; nur halte ich es immer für gefährlich, wenn Ihr Euch nach denen bilden wollt.'[1] while in Liebeswerben, written as late as 1837,[2] he and Walter Scott are mentioned as literary equals in the sphere of the historical novel.

Of the other numerous references scattered throughout his pages we shall mention only the satirical scenes in Prinz Zerbino, oder die Reise nach dem guten Geschmack.[3] On his search for good taste Zerbino is represented as meeting most of the world's greatest writers and also, in allegorical form, the main literary tendencies of the time. Thus on the one hand there is ample scope for abuse of such writers as seem to deserve it, as well as genuine praise for the high-priests of literature, 'die heiligen Vier', Dante, Shakespeare, Cervantes and Goethe. Schlenkert,

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1) T.S. IX, 190
2) T.S. XXVI, 440.
3) T.S. X.

whose Friedrich mit der gebissenen Wange seems to have caught Tieck's fancy,[1] is introduced in poetic disguise:

'Nun könnt ich Euch noch einen andern zeigen,
Der nur gewöhnlich Maissner heisst, doch dieser
Ist jetzo wenig in der Arbeit mehr,
Wie jener dort, der mit dem Kopfe schlenkert.'[2]

In the wood-scene in Act V Veit Weber appears as 'erster Gesell', Spiess as 'zweiter Gesell' and their conversation describes a process of literary history, as Tieck represents in dialogue form Weber's love of mediaeval subjects which latterly had been replaced by the ghosts and spirits so beloved by Spiess.

Zweiter Gesell:

> 'Ja, er soll warlich an den Spiess sein Lebelang denken. Ich komme in alle Unschuld daher und treffe mein allerliebstes Publikum in seine Narrheiten vernarrt; mein Ehrenwerther, wenn ich den guten Geschmack retten wollte, musste

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1) It is mentioned in Fermer der Geniale, T.S. XV, 197; Ulrich der Empfindsame, T.S. XV, 139f; Die Sieben Weiber des Blaubart, T.S.IX, 188f.

2) T.S. X, 185.

> ich mich keine Unkosten und keine Mühe verdriessen lassen; Millionen Gespenster und Hexen, Luft- und Wassergeister habe ich dahinter her schicken müssen, um nur seine Humpen und Turniere und altdeutsche Blitz-Wurzel-Wörter nebst ihren etymologischen Erklärungen zu verdrängen.'[1]

A parody of some lines of Shakespeare, symbolic of the imitative and ambitious efforts of the unskilled novelists, foretells the end of the era when their works will be admired:[2]

> 'Oft sehn wir weiss Papier, nennt sich satirisch,
> Ist Luftgestalt, doch thut's wie Löw' und Bär,
> Heisst Helden, Menschen, heilge Gräber, und
> Die leere Luftgestalt erscheint der Welt
> und giebt vor Lesern sich ein Air.
> Die Taschenbücher mit den Pferden vorn
> Bald werden sie ohn' Spur auf immer schwinden:
> Sei auf Autorität nicht gar zu keck ein Prasser,
> Wie Land scheint manches dir, und ist nur Wasser
> in Wasser.'

The lack of sincerity in much of his derogatory

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1) T.S. X, 239.

2) Ibid., 231. The lines of Shakespeare are found in Antony and Cleopatra, Act IV, Sc.xiv, ll.2-7, 9-11:

> 'Sometime, we see a cloud that's dragonish;
> A vapour, sometime, like a bear, or lion,
> A tower'd citadel, a pendant rock,
> A forked mountain, or blue promontory
> With trees upon't, that nod unto the world,
> And mock our eyes with air...
> That which is now a horse, even with a thought,
> The rack dislimns; and makes it indistinct,
> As water is in water.'

comment can be gauged by the almost indiscriminate use of it against writers of repute, whose works he in truth ardently admired. To Wackenroder he had written on 12 December 1792 of Schiller's Die Räuber:

> 'O es ist doch ein herrliches, ein göttliches Stück, - mir ist, als müsste ich vor Schillern hinfallen und ihn anbeten... Narren behaupten, was sie wollen, die Räuber bleiben ein grosses Stück, mich begeistert es immer mehr, je mehr ich es verstehe, wer es nicht versteht, der mag sich an Klara von Hoheneichen[1] laben, den führe man wieder zu der Eichelkost der französischen Stücke zurück, für ihn hat Schiller, Shakespeare und Göthe nich geschrieben.'[2]

But in Former der Geniale, the hero learns that Louise, whose heart he had been seeking to captivate, has got engaged to someone else:

> 'Menschen! Menschen! sprach er ganz laut, heuchlerische, giftige Krokodilbrut! Ihre Augen sind Wasser, ihre Herzen sind Erz! Küsse auf den Lippen und Schwerter im Busen! - O Bosheit, hab' ich dulden gelernt u.s.w. Er heilt die ganze Rede Karl Moore, und bemerkte in seiner Wuth nicht, dass sie nicht auf seinen Zustand passe; wer wird auch in der Leidenschaft auf solche Kleinigkeiten Rücksicht nehmen?'[3]

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1) Play by C.H. Spiess.

2) Tieck to Wackenroder. Wackenroder. Werke und Briefe, op. cit., p.143.

3) T.S. XV, 190.

In William Lovell, the Countess Blainville pokes gentle fun at the sentimental heroines of French and English writers:

> 'Ich bon so empfindsam, wie Rousseaus Julie, ein wenig melancholisch, eine kleine Teinture aus Young und eine so langweilige Vernunft und Moralschwätzerin, als die Heldinnen der Englischen Romane. Sie wurden mich hassen, wenn Sie mich in dieser Tragödienlaune sähen; aber Lovell ist davon bezaubert; er hält mich in Gedanken für ein Ideal Richardsons, für ein himmlisches und überirdisches Geschöpf.'[1]

And as a final act of apology for the most gruesome of his works, Abdallah,[2] he brings it also within the scope of his derision. In the eighth chapter of Peter Lebrecht II the writer says he had been so careless in an earlier chapter as to introduce a speaking character without considering whether his style of speech would find favour with the readers. From here he goes on to discuss how the plot could develop from the duel which this stranger now has to fight and says:

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1) T.S. VI, 78.

2) T.S. VIII.

> 'Das Duell konnte zugleich eine schöne moralische Wirkung auf den Leser thun, und der Schluss so grausenvoll eingerichtet werden, wie es im Abdalliah nur immer geschehen ist.'[1]

We may thus be surprised to find that on one occasion Tieck turns to the defence of these same writers, taking up a position similar to that expressed by O.L.B. Wolff in his Allgemeine Geschichte des Romans:

> 'Kein Roman aber, möge er noch so schlecht seyn, ist fur die Kulturgeschichte unwichtig, denn Jeder trägt mehr oder weniger den Stempel seiner Zeit und offenbart, häufig gar wider den Willen des Autors, ihre Conflicte und ihre Neigungen... Alle Geschichte ist doch nur die Darstellung des Fortschreitens und Gehemmtwerdens des menschlichen Geistes und seit der Roman existiert, ward in ihm immer der Menge Rechenschaft abgelegt von dem, was die Zeit bewegte.[2]

Tieck undertook to write the preface to a new edition of the eighteenth century 'Robinsonade' of Schnabel, Die Insel Felsenburg, which appeared in Breslau in 1828.[3] This preface takes the form of

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1) T.S. XV, 62.

2) (Jena, 1850) p.10.

3) This preface was reprinted in the Kritische Schriften II, 133ff, as Kritik und deutsches Bücherwesen.

an imaginary conversation between Tieck and a friend who enters to find him about to start work on this preface. On the friend's challenge as to the necessity of yet further editions of such novels, Tieck admits that this kind of literature has perhaps been too quickly condemned, without investigation of the circumstances which have produced it. The ribaldry of earlier ages, before the growth of the novel, he says, had not had any destructive effect on civilisation, so why should the present age be morally ruined by its books. Each age has its own peculiar needs and thus,

> '...die meisten Schriften nur ein Bedürfnis der Zeit befriedigen, was aber doch, wenn es ein wahres Bedürfnis ist, befriedigt werden muss, mag eine spätere Kritik einzuwenden haben, was sie will.... die Geschichte, die in steten Wechsel begriffen ist und sein muss, bald diesen bald jenen Stand mehr zur Thätigkeit oder zum Leiden ergreift und auffordert, dass es keine Geschichte gäbe, wenn die Gemüther der Menschen nicht auf mannichfaltige Weise, durch vielerlei Triebe und Begebenheiten aufgereist würden, und aus dem Gemüthe weitere äusserliche Begebenheiten erwüchsen...und in unsern Tagen gehört für den Beobachter diese von Ihnen verschmähte Gattung von Büchern eben auch zu jenen Zeichen, um sich zu erkennen

und zurecht zu finden.'[1]

It is in keeping with our knowledge of Tieck's methods in literary criticism to find him thus sharply upbraiding one whose opinions conflict with those he himself happens at this moment to be defending. The trivial novel, as the descendant of the popular adventure story, can clearly make the same claims to literary respectability, for its enthusiastic reception alone indicates that it was meeting some kind of need of the time. In our own day it is not unusual that those who feel they must decry the methods of the sensational press, still yield regularly, if surreptitiously, to its attractions, and Tieck's relationship to the novel of his day was probably of a similar nature. Crabb Robinson felt the same uneasiness about the fascination which Mrs. Radcliffe exerted over him, and seeking to justify it, notes in his diary for 27 June 1829:

> 'Finished Udolpho, which I ought never to have begun. Yet towards the end it indisposed me to any other occupation. But, after all, the interest is merely that of the worry of finding out a riddle.'[2]

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1) Die Insel Felsenburg (Breslau, 1828) p.xvi.

2) H.C. Robinson, op. cit., p.366.

The riddle is however only part of the answer, for the interest remains after the riddle of any particular work has been solved, and in fact it is this element of riddle and explanation which makes the reader so contemptuous at the conclusion. The appeal lies rather in the development of a chain of seemingly supernatural events which, for the duration of their genuineness, paralyse the will to rationalise and rivet the attention upon the events themselves. It is in the disappointment of the solution that the inherent absurdity of the whole story becomes apparent and incurs the scorn of the hitherto bewitched reader.

Perhaps the best explanation of all is given by Tieck himself in the scene of Die Vogelscheuche [1] where Amalie is surprised by Alexander while occupied with a copy of Notre Dame de Paris by Victor Hugo, whose works marked, for the ageing Tieck, the nadir of de: :generate romanticism; she feels the necessity for some

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1) T.S. XVII, 249.

explanation:

> 'Wenn man es einmal angefangen hat, muss man es wohl endigen, man stelle sich, wie man will; aber der Widerwille, der Ekel, den es mir erregte, ist gerade das, was mich fesselte. Jede Geisteskrankheit, jeder Zustand, der von dem abweicht, was wir Natur und das Nothwendige nennen, fesselt unsre Aufmerksamkeit, und leider ist etwas in unsrer Seele, Schwäche, Neugier, krankes Gelüst, oder was es sei, was den schlechten Instinkt in uns so stachelt, dass wir uns vom Verdrehten, Scheusslichen und Grauenhaften nicht immer schnell genug hinweg wenden... Das entschieden Hässliche kann, wenn der Maler Talent hat, uns so fascinieren, wie jene Schlange, die durch ihren Blick die kleinen Vögel so bezaubert, dass sie ihr in den Rachen fliegen müssen. So habe ich also dieses Krankheits-Symptom, oder diese ihre Romantuk, wie die Franzosen sie nennen, mir etwas näher ins Auge gefasst, auch um zu erfahren, in wiefern, das neuste Jahrzehend mit dem linken Fuss zuerst aus dem Bette getreten ist.'

Of the possible causes here enumerated, 'krankes Gelüst' is probably the most important in the case of Tieck, who from his earliest childhood indulged a morbid interest in fear and horror, and with his intense imaginative faculty more than once drove himself to experience hallucinations and visions. As a child he would at times be suddenly overcome

by an inexplicable terror, his surroundings became strangely awesome, his associates grim and unfamiliar and, seized with the fear of possible madness and an accompanying doubt in the existence of any guiding divinity, his thoughts early dwelt on death and physical decay as the only true fulfilment of the human quest for happiness. At night he would wander on his own in the darkness, or subject himself to the atmosphere of the graveyard in an effort to try and establish a contact with the other world.

Tieck's friends all mention this demonic element in his character, which throughout his entire eighty years was never far away. Von Friesen writes:

> 'In seiner seelischen Anlage muss nemlich die Fähigkeit zu einer seltsamen Anspannung bedingt gewesen sein. Nicht bloss eine ungewöhnliche Erregbarkeit in Schreck, Jähzorn Beschämung und sonst wie konnte sich zuweilen in der überraschendsten Weise seiner ganzen Seele plötzlich bemächtigen, es geschah wohl auch, dass ihn eine momentane Zerstreutheit oder Verwirrung aller Seelenkräfte, wenn auch nicht zur Bewusstlosigkeit ergriff, aber dennoch für den Moment aller Erinnerung beraubte: auch erlebte er mehr als einmal einen Zustand, in welchem er mit vollem

> Bewusstsein Erscheinungen sah, die nicht körperlich existirten. Ich weiss nicht, ob ich hier von Visionen sprechen darf, noch erinnere mich genau, ob er solche Erscheinungenselbst dafür halten wollte. Nur das weiss ich bestimmt, dass seine Erzählungen solcher Erlebnisse den Stempel der ruhigsten Überzeugung von ihrer Wahrheit trugen.'[1]

Tieck himself tells of his affliction in a letter to his philosopher-friend Solger, written on 1 April 1816:

> 'Ich befinde mich im Gegentheil recht schlecht, und leide vielfältig hauptsächlich an Kopf und Augen, am meisten aber an der Seele, weil mich wieder jener Zustand (den Sie hoffentlich gar nicht kennen) von Muthlosigkeit, Lebensüberdruss und eigentlichem Verzweifeln an mir selbst überfallen hat, der mich von Jugend auf von Zeit zu Zeit wie eine wahre Krankheit beschleicht, und gegen welchen ich dann vergeblich nach Hülfsmitteln suche. In dieser Melankolie sind meine Seelenkräfte dann wie erlahmt und alle Federn meines Innern wie auf immer zerbrochen.'[2]

And in 1828 in the introduction to Volume VI of his collected works he again draws attention to

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1) Hermann Freiherr von Friesen, Ludwig Tieck. Erinnerungen eines alten Freundes aus den Jahren 1825-42 (Vienna, 1871) II, 48.

2) Tieck and Solger. The Complete Correspondence, ed. P. Matenko (New York and Berlin, 1933) p.202f.

this demonic trait which he seemed to share with none of his fellows:

> 'Schon früh, in jener Zeit, wenn die meisten Menschen fast unbewusst ihrer Jugend froh geniessen, führte mich mein Gemüth zu den ernstesten und finstersten Betrachtungen. Unbefriedigt von dem Unterrichte, den ich von Lehrern und Büchern erhielt, versenkte sich mein Geist in Abgründe, die zu durchirren und kennen zu lernen wohl nicht die Aufgabe unsers Lebens ist... Ein vorwitziger, kecker Zweifel, ein unermüdliches, finsteres Grübeln hatten für mich den Baum des Lebens entblättert.'[1]

Undoubtedly in later life hypochondria was a strong contributory factor to his gloomy self-pity, but in his youth at least, this pathological preoccupation with the barrenness of life and the gloomy fascination of death and the unknown led him repeatedly to the popular literature of the day, in which occult sciences, horrific descriptions of death and decay, supernatural apparitions and feverish hallucinations were to be found side by side. And

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1) T.S. VI, v.

it was eventually this twilight region between reality and the supernatural that Tieck was to take as the background for his magical tales, an atmosphere which he alone could conjure and which is a product of his own demonic nature. How direct this influence was in his youth, is shown by Friesen's discussion of William Lovell:

> 'Sie haben vollkommen Recht, wenn Sie in der Rolle, welche Andrea Cosimo und Rosa zugeteilt ist, etwas bemerken, was sich dem Ganzen nicht organisch anschliesst.. Vielleicht aber gereicht es Ihnen zur Genugtuung, wenn ich Ihnen mitteile, dass Tieck selbst diese Schwäche anerkannte, und mich, in einem Gespräch über diesen Gegenstand, an das gegen Ende des vorigen Jahrhunderts betriebsame Wesen geheimer Gesellschaften und Orden, wie Illuminaten und Rosenkreuzer, erinnerte. Das war es, was ihn zu diesem Nebenwerke verführt hatte, ohne dass es ihm doch gelungen wäre, dasselbe auf eine prägnantere Weise dem Ganzen einzuverleiben.'[1]

Here we have then a direct proof of conscious attempt by Tieck to assimilate those features of society and literature which were discussed in the preceding section.

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1) H.F. von Friesen, op. cit., II, 60.

Minder [1] finds this a feature common to most of Tieck's early work, and believes that the hallucinatory elements there are derived directly from Tieck's own demonic experiences, these in their turn having been stimulated by his knowledge of the ghostly which he drew from his reading:

> 'Tieck est prédisposé par son tempérament 'eidétique' à des états visionnaires - lesquels se produisent chaque fois qu'il y a 'refoulement' des tendances profondes de l'individu; mais ces visions, ces hallucinations sont dans le détail nourries de réminiscences littéraires: le souvenir de ses lectures le hante jusque dans le paroxysme de ses hallucinations. Celles-ci à leur tour fournissent à Tieck le modèle des états hallucinatoires qu'il prête si souvent à ses héros, en particulier dans ses oeuvres de jeunesse.'

We have seen the immediate effect of Der Genius upon his mind, and in the same letter to Wackenroder he substantiates his fear that he has already an innate propensity to madness, by describing the occasion when, after attending a ball at Reichardt's in Halle,

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1) R. Minder, Un Poète romantique allemand: Ludwig Tieck (Paris, 1936) p.179.

he had been overwhelmed by the solitude and the reality of nature as he walked through the surrounding countryside:

> 'Endlich stieg ich auf die Felsen, die schönste Gegend bei Giebichenstein, wie alles romantisch vor mir lag, mir war, als lebt' ich in der fernsten Vergangenheit, die Ruinen des Ritterschlosses blickten so ernsthaft nach mir hin, die Felsen gegenüber, die Felsen über mir, die wankenden Bäume, das Hundebellen, alles war so schauerlich, alles stimmte die Phantasie so rein, so hoch.'[1]

This identification of ruins with the adventurous past and with the possibility of latent horror, was a feature he had found in the literature of the time and he never failed to be fascinated by the sight of such a landscape. His fate-drama Karl von Berneck was inspired by a visit to Berneck in the Fichtelgebirge with Wackenroder in 1792, of which he writes:

> 'An diese Felsen und finstre Thäler knüpfte sich die Erinnerung an die Ritterzeit...So erregte die Natur mir hier einen fast tragischen Eindruck.'[2]

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1) Wackenroder, Werke und Briefe, op. cit. p.50.

2) T.S. XI, xxxvii.

And the diary he kept during a journey through Germany in the summer of 1803 with Burgsdorff, contains frequent references to similar ruins:

'Fr. Jun. 24.... Ausgefahren, in Graupen. Kirche, heilge Stiegen; oben die Ruinen besucht.

Sonn.Jun.25.... Buchau, Ruine, Sonnenuntergange.

Fr. Jul.1..... Berneck, schöne Ruinen.

Sonn.Jul.2..... Die Ruine von Streitberg besucht.

Fr.Jul.8..... Fahrt nach Schloss Gich. schön konservirte alte Ruine.'[1]

But the best expression of this love of the 'romantic' landscape is found in a letter to Varnhagen von Ense, written from Erlangen in 1793:

> 'Sie kennen meine Vorliebe für das romantische Mittelalter, solche Ruinen sind mir immer äusserst ehrwürdig, für die

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1) P. Matenko, 'Tieck's Diary fragment of 1803 and his Novelle Eine Sommerreise', JEGPh, 36 (1937).

> Phantasie hat das Mittelalter sehr viel anziehendes und der Verstand findet es immer kräftiger und vorzüglicher als unser schaales Jahrhundert..[1]... Das Rauschen eines Waldes, ein Bach, der vom Felsen fliesst, eine Klippe, die im Thale aufspringt, - es kann mich in einen Taumel versetzen, der fast an Wahnsinn granzt.'[2]

We thus see that Tieck, living as he did at the time when the 'Schauerromantik' was at its most productive, was thoroughly acquainted with this literature, despite his remonstrances in print. We have considered his natural inclination towards the occult and the horrific, the pleasure he derived from living in imagination amid the powers of darkness and searching out the unknown.

Now we must turn to Tieck the writer and see how, as an early romanticist, he unconsciously carried over into the new movement both themes and stylistic devices which he had found in the trivial literatures of England and Germany. These are naturally subsidiary to the influences of greater men - Shakespeare, Goethe,

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1) Aus dem Nachlass Varnhagens von Ense (Leipsig, 1867), I, 195.

2) Ibid, p. 198.

Cervantes, Gozzi- but they are nevertheless unmistakably present and represent a much neglected facet of the origins of German literary romanticism.

CHAPTER THREE

The Conscious and Unconscious Use of Gothic Devices in Tieck's Work

Almost all of Tieck's first literary efforts were in the field of drama and for the most part these exist even to-day only in the original unpublished manuscripts.[1] Of little merit in themselves, they nevertheless bear witness to the industry of the young schoolboy and to his endeavours to adopt the themes and motifs he found in his own reading to produce new dramatic situations. These early plays are characterised by a crudeness in style and a mock-violence of language and action, which provide clear indication of the models Tieck had chosen for himself. For our present purpose they are of little value, yet it is interesting to notice, in view of what has already been said of Tieck's willingness to pour derision on the very sources upon which he himself was drawing, that in one of these works, a nameless five-act comedy which Zeydel calls

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1) For fuller discussion of these manuscripts see E.H. Zeydel, Ludwig Tieck, the German Romanticist (Princeton, 1935) Ch.2. The Tieck Nachlass, which belongs to the German (formerly Prussian) State Library in Berlin, was removed for safekeeping during the war to Tübingen, where it has remained.

Die Nebenbuhler and places about the year 1789, he satirises these same vicious, exaggerated dramas by presenting an unsuccessful author Dunckel, who feels his future is assured by his latest masterpiece on the theme of Samson. Dunckel insists on reading his play aloud to his wife, for this is his most ambitious project to date, a tragedy in 13 acts with 85 scenes, 206 characters, 10 battles, 36 duels and 62 ghost-appearances.[1] This particular scene in the comedy is of importance as evidence that Tieck, even at this early age, was ready to poke fun at the efforts of himself and his contemporaries, and it may therefore be taken as another sign of his acquaintance with that kind of literature. An understanding of this attitude of Tieck towards his literary work, an attitude which could perhaps be described as an anticipation of his Romantic Irony, is necessary for a balanced estimation of the influences which shaped his first years as a writer.

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1) See Appendix A.

While still a schoolboy he had in these ambitious projects already given promise of unusual talents, and it is of no surprise to find his teachers at the Friedrichswerder Gymnasium in Berlin turning to him for assistance with their own works of fiction. It is the resultant influence of these teachers upon him which has so enraged later critics, who have tended to accept unquestioningly Haym's pontifical denunciation of the evils of the corruption of young genius:

> 'Eine grössere Versündigung an dem Talente, eine schmählichere Korruption des jugendlichen Geistes lässt sich nicht wohl denken. Kinder, die von ihren Eltern zum Betteln und Betrügen, junge Leute, die von Erwachsenen zu sinnlichen Ausschweifungen angeleitet werden, sind nicht in einer schlimmeren Schule als der Jüngling, den sein Lehrer zum Mitschuldigen seiner literarischen Sünden macht.' 1

The corruption here referred to is the fact that Tieck's first serious compositions were written in the style of the prevailing trivial romances and that the natural growth of his poetic gifts was stunted and

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1) R. Haym, Die Romantische Schule (Berlin, 1920) p.29.

deformed by the pernicious influence of those who chose to exploit rather than to encourage his versatility. The chief defaulters in this respect were his two schoolteachers, Bernhardi and Rambach.

August Ferdinand Bernhardi (1769-1820) was perhaps the more beneficial to the enterprises of the young Tieck, for although still very much a rationalist in the old tradition, his studies in Halle had awakened in him a genuine appreciation of contemporary literature and of Goethe in particular. And it was perhaps rather out of his own frustrations as a creative writer that he felt attracted to his imaginative and productive pupil. Their warm friendship was destined however to be of somewhat short duration. In 1799 Bernhardi married Tieck's sister Sophie, but the unhappy marriage ended in divorce in 1807 and produced an embittered estrangement of thetwo men which was never healed. Bernhardi was eventually to achieve a wide reputation as a philologist with the publication of his Sprachlehre.[1]

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1) 1801/3. 2 vols.

Friedrich Eberhard Rambach (1767-1826) was himself an established writer of petty tales and literary bric-a-brac suited to the lowest level of demand by the time that his attention fell on Tieck. It is quite true in his case to say that his purpose in harnessing the eager sixth-former was merely to speed up his own output, for apparently his formula for success - 'Wenn ich einmal stecken bleibe, knirsche ich nur mit den Zähnen, und es geht wieder frisch weiter!'[1] - was not infallible. But it would be false to imagine that Tieck was here corrupted, for in dashing off trivial and ambitious works, he was continuing his former practice, and the technique he applies, far from being copied from Rambach, was taken directly from the current literature.

Indeed Hemmer[2] has convincingly shown that Alla-Moddin must in fact have been begun by Tieck before Rambach joined the staff of the school in 1791,

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1) R. Köpke, I, 118.

2) H. Hemmer, op. cit., p. 306.

whereas Köpke[1] specifically states that it was a school exercise written at the teacher's request. Rambach first called on Tieck's help in the completion of a robber-story being written for a collection which appeared under the impressive title Thaten und Feinheiten renommierter Krafte und Kniffgenies.[2] The subject of Rambach's contribution was a notorious poacher and highwayman, Mathias Klostermayer oder der bayrische Hiesel, who had been executed in 1771 after a career of lawlessness which, by its contempt for the social oppression of the time, had made him a semi-heroic figure in the popular estimation. In accordance with the spirit of the age the present volume was to reveal the essential goodness of the man, who had

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1) R. Köpke, I, 117.

2) Berlin, 1790/1. 2 vols. Gundolf describes the story as 'eine rührselig moralisch schein-pädagogisch, freisinnig salbadernde Schauermär mit krassen Begebenheiten, schmalzigen Reflexionen und verquollener Seelenmalerei.' F. Gundolf, 'Ludwig Tieck' in Jahrbuch des freien deutschen Hochstifts zu Frankfurt, 1929, pp.99-157.

allegedly been forced to embark upon a life of crime by the harsh treatment received at the hands of unjust society. When Rambach tired of the half-completed task and handed it over to Tieck, the accusations of exploitation and corruption of the young writer may seem to have found some justification. But an analysis of the study by Hemmer[1] leads to different conclusions, indeed to the conclusion that such an exercise, far from being harmful, was in fact beneficial, being rather an essential stage in the progress of the Romanticist, an opportunity to discard the clinging conventions of the fashionable literature and to discover, by experimentation, his own true metier. Rambach's contribution to the book, the first eleven chapters of the story, is a fairly pedestrian paraphrase of an earlier biography of Klostermayer which bore the colourful title Leben und Ende des berüchtigten

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1) H. Hemmer, op. cit., pp.357-65. This work, as a specialist study of these specific works, has been drawn upon for the facts about Mathias Klostermayer. These provide striking confirmation of our view that Tieck's development was essentially independent of Rambach.

Anführers einer Wildschützbande, Mathias Klostermayers, oder des sogenannten Bayerischen Hiesels, aus gerichtlichen Urkunden gezogen, und mit genau nach den Umständen jeder Begebenheit gezeichneten Kupfern gezieret, Augspurg, Frankfurt und Leipzig, 1772. Only when Tieck took over at Rambach's request did the narrative acquire any dramatic content and bear the light and shade of a personal style, less dependent on the source. And if clearer proof of this is required, it is to be found in the epilogue which Tieck added to the final chapter, in which he expresses the displeasure he has found in trying to inflate this worthless criminal to the dimensions of a hero:

> 'Denn, im engsten Vertrauen gesagt, es ist ihm sehr sauer geworden, diesen Kerl als einen Helden in seinem Fache darzustellen, wie es die Pflicht jedes Biographen ist. Warum? Weil er nichts mehr und nichts weniger war, als? - ein Spitzbube.'[1]

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1) II, 334.

This final sentence has found its way into several works on Tieck in support of the view that Tieck objected to the work he was being forced to do. But in fact this is not the case, for his objection is aimed solely at the literary conditions set, viz. the public demand for such stories of virtuous criminals. The addition of the final sentence is rather the one vital proof that Tieck has not been corrupted, but that he is able to rise above the actual task he is completing and see the work at its true value. The chronicle style here required was exactly suited to Tieck's peculiar gifts and for the first time we find him disciplined by the material in being forced to abandon the excess of metaphors, personifications and epithets which had been so prevalent in his earlier works. And Haym's ironic observation:

'Dazu hatte er sich an Goethe und Shakespeare, an Schiller und Cervantes begeistert, um die Erstlinge seiner Phantasie in den ungesundesten und häßlichsten

Stätten unserer Literatur zu vergeuden!'[1] may be confounded by the fact that for the first time in this tale Tieck shows unmistakably the results of his new-made acquaintanceship with Don Quixote in the technique he adopts for holding the reader's attention by breaking the logical sequence of his narrative, his use of irony and even in the direct borrowing of certain expressions, such as the 'im engsten Vertrauen' in the above quotation.

We may therefore justifiably conclude that Der bayrische Hiesel was a milestone rather than a millstone for the young Tieck.

Pleased with Tieck's first co-operative effort, Rambach assigned a further task to him a short time later, when he grew weary of a horror-novel he was writing. This was Die Eiserne Maske. Eine Schottische Geschichte (1792) published under one of Rambach's pseudonyms, Ottokar Sturm, and consisting of the theme of Die Räuber transplanted to an

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1) R. Haym, op. cit., p.29.

Ossianic setting in the Highlands of Scotland. This atmosphere was achieved by the use of such names as Dunkan, Malwina, Carno, Toskar, Linuf and Dunchomar, all found in Ossian, as well as by introducing such typical devices as knocking on the shield as a challenge to fight, the cairn of four stones marking the hero's grave, the emphasis on bleak and chilly imagery and the uninviting, barren landscapes. But in the preface to the novel Rambach admits that it can make no pretence to reality, and discloses the obvious in telling us that its inaccuracies are in any case of secondary consideration as the sole object of the story is merely to amuse:

> 'So ist z.B. Rhingulf, wie ich glaube, kein Schottischer Name, allein er ist auch nicht so fremd, dass ich ihn nicht hätte gebrauchen können. Etwas Ähnliches liesse sich über die Verpflanzung des Weins nach Schottland sagen, allein diese Unreinigkeit will ich nicht einmal bemänteln, sondern lieber geradezu eingestehen, so wie ich denn überhaupt bekenne, dass ich blose für die Unterhaltung geschrieben habe.'

Two hostile brothers, Carno and Ryno, the sons of

Tondal, are in love with Malwina, the daughter of Toskar, who has promised that she will be given to the one who proves himself the braver. By nature the brothers differ greatly from one another, Carno being the noble, valiant hero beloved by all, whilst Ryno is the spiteful and sinister one, everywhere despised and feared. Tieck's contribution was a part of Chapter Seven and the whole of the following final chapter, in which his task was to depict Ryno's mounting self-reproach for his cruelty towards his brother, and the ensuing destruction he brings upon himself. In this Tieck found a situation which corresponded in part to the conflicts which had been fought within himself in the moods of depression and near-insanity referred to in an earlier chapter. The inevitable horror of the situation, which had been inherent in the story as he received it from Rambach, was coloured and intensified from his own experience of the unfriendliness of his environment and of the

results of gloomy introspection. He wrote, as Haym says, 'weil eine Krankheit der Seele seiner Phantasie den Stoff dazu aufnötigte.'[1]

This is a vital factor in the estimation of the role played by Rambach, for we see that Tieck's life-long interest in the horrific and demonic, recurring as it does throughout his entire literary production from these early works to some of his latest, springs jointly from his own psychopathic disposition, conditioned by such stimuli as he found in literature. And this element would have asserted itself whatever the attitude of his teachers.

If we consider the vocabulary and imagery of this final chapter, Ryno, it becomes obvious how familiar he must have been with the 'trivial journalese' of his time. All the devices of the horror-novelists for creating and sustaining atmosphere are found in abundance, indeed in such abundance that the surfeit

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1) R. Haym, op. cit., p.31.

of extreme emotions prevents the reader from experiencing either compassion or pity for the helpless victim. Stylistically, the horrific simile is perhaps the outstanding trivial feature of this chapter, as in the opening scene where a servant leads Ryno to his room:

> 'Dieser stellte die Fackel in eine Ecke der Halle, und entfernte sich dann so schnell, als wäre Ryno ein schreckliches Drache, der mit rasselnden Flügeln hinter ihm her jagte, um ihn mit seinen Basiliskenaugen anzublicken, oder ihm seinen giftigen Hauch ins Angesicht zu blasen.' (p.523).[1]

So conventional was the application of this dragon-simile that it occurs once more in the same chapter, after Ryno has seen Dunkan's ghost:

> 'Feuer tanzten vor seinen Augen mit rother Gluth, und es war ihm, als zischten Drachen hinter ihm her, die klingend mit den grauen Schuppenflügeln rauschten.' (p.539).[2]

Further instances of the horrific simile can

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1) Cf. Abdallah (T.S.VIII, 125): 'als wenn Drachen mit klingenden Flugeln hinter ihm herjagten, so enfloh er.'

2) Cf. Abdallah (T.S.VIII, 119): 'Wenn Omar statt mir die Hand zu reichen, mir einen schuppigen Drachenhals entgegnreckt!'

easily be found:

> '..Wie brausende Stürme durch den Eichenforst rauschen, so rauschte ihm die Vergangenheit furchtbar nach, die Zukunft lag vor ihm, wie ein Abgrund voll schwarzer Nacht, aus dem ihm Schlangen entgegenzischten und Wölfe entgegenheulten: sey unser!' (p. 525);
>
> 'Tannen und Eichen traten fürchterlich wie schwarze Gespenster aus der Erde hervor, die ihre zackigen Arme gegen ihn hinstreckten, die Wetterwolken schienen ihm Ungeheuer, die ihn im Vorüberfliegen anklaften, und von ihren Rabenschwingen Flüche auf ihn herabschütteten.' (p.531).

Snakes, wolves, dragons and ravens, the animals usually associated with the ruins and lugubrious atmosphere of the trivial setting, all feature in these similes, and very often the respective noises of the animals were added to intensify the horror and to provide the first indication of a characteristic which was to become more apparent in the Romantic literature proper, namely the correspondence between the forces of external nature and the inner mood of the person involved. This feature, which has its

most permanent form in the line of Verlaine:

'Votre âme est un paysage choisi...'

is a good example of the literary refinement by the Romanticists of Gothic remnants, for the identification of the outward face of inanimate nature with the character's inward disposition has its beginnings in the background of storm and tempest used to indicate the approach of horror and danger, alternating with the singing of the birds and radiant sunshine to prelude a love-scene or some more favourable turn in the action. In the middle of the chapter we can again see how conscious Tieck is of these methods, for he depicts Ryno as deliberately trying to recall the more harmonious symbols, such as the harp, to overcome the fear which the presence of these gruesome creatures is causing:

> 'Diese feierliche gräßliche Stille konnte Ryno nicht dulden. Er wollte irgend eins der bekanntesten Harfnerlieder singen, um in dieser grausenvollen Wüste sich nicht allein zu scheinen, um Töne zu

> hören, die ihn den Tod vergessen liessen, die ihn taub machten für das ächzende Geschrei der Eule, die von einem verdorrten Baume vor seinem Fenster ein Todtenlied krächzte.' (p.532).[1]

How instinctively the schoolboy was able to adapt his vocabulary to his purpose is evident from each of these passages, although the quotations given are typical rather than particular. Any doubt as to whether he was being led on by Rambach or drawing upon his own resources may be resolved by comparison of the following sentence with the language Tieck used some time later to describe to Wackenroder the terrors conjured up by Grosse's Der Genius; the linguistic style, as well as the horrific content, is almost completely the same, a proof of Tieck's receptivity for this kind of writing, which in the course of the following years was to bring him close to mental disorder:

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1) Cf. Karl von Berneck (T.S.XI, 97): 'Übertönt mir jene Eule, die vom verdorrten Baum herunter winselt.'

> 'Da fuhren ihm Schreckgestalten aus der Finsternis entgegen, wie mit Schlangen:körpern wanden sie sich zu ihm hinan, der Schauder fasste ihm mit eiskalter Hand in den Nacken.' (p.523).

But the main point of similarity with the cheap novel remains the vocabulary, the preference for such suggestive words as 'furchtbar' 'fürchterlich' 'schrecklich' 'schauerlich' 'basilisk' 'Moder' 'Gewölbe' 'Grab' and 'Leichnam', which were part of the novelist's stock-in-trade. Most striking of all is his ability to form these words into compounds which ensure the unbroken continuity of sensation and are intended to intensify the atmosphere - 'Todesempfindung' 'Todtenstille' 'Todtenlied' 'Todtengerippe' 'Todesangst' 'Leichnamshand' 'Leichenduft' 'Sterbegewinsel' 'Eulengeschrei' 'Wolfsgeheul' 'Dunstgebilde' 'Fieberfrost' 'Wolkenschleier' 'Windesfittig' 'Seelenangst' 'Riesenkräften' 'eiskalt' 'verabscheuungswürdig' - all is grist to his mill in this gruelling chapter, for the primitive technique of Tieck consisted merely

of accumulating and placing end to end as many words of unpleasant and gruesome association as could be found. He has already assimilated such characteristics of suspense as the sudden surge of a dying flame casting its shadow on the wall, the preference for the colour red in environments which are meant to frighten, and the accompaniment of a hostile climatic background to stress the mental dejection of the hero and hint at the possibility that some external power has ordained his doom.

One thing remains certain, that if such narrative were written by Tieck against his instinctive feeling for language and literary good taste under direct pressure from specific horror-monger, whether Rambach or any other, this style would have been, for one so receptive and impressionable, transient and soon forgotten. The inescapable evidence for our claim that Tieck wrote with pleasure, even with some personal participation, at these Gothic tales is

that this horror-vocabulary had been so deeply impressed upon his mind that it remained with him right up until the very last work was written and Rambach, Bernhardi, Grosse and the others were no more than dim memories.

In support of this attention may be briefly called to the kinds of words and phrases still favoured by Tieck in the works of his later years. It is obvious that a writer who came in his own time to rank second only to Goethe in German letters and was acclaimed after Goethe's death as his natural successor,[1] did not remain throughout his creative lifetime in the tradition of terror-novelists, except for the occasional, conscious digressions into this field in later life.

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1) Coleridge wrote to Southey of Tieck: '..as a poet, critic and moralist, he stands (in reputation) next to Goethe (and I believe that this reputation will be fame)'. Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, ed. E. Hartley Coleridge (London, 1895) II, pp.670- 1. Mrs. Jameson said of him: 'he holds undisputed the first rank as an original poet and powerful writer, and has succeeded, by divine right, to the vacant throne of genius'. Anna B. Jameson, Visits and Sketches at Home and Abroad, 1834, II, pp.148.

Our examples are therefore taken from decidedly non-horrific Novellen, the noteworthy feature being that, despite his abandonment of Gothicism, its vocabulary is very often retained, especially in the portrayal of characters or incidents where deep emotional content is called for.

The unsuitability of much of the language to its context is apparent, for instance, in the Novelle Der Weihnachts-Abend (1834),[1] the unhappy story of a woman who has fallen into straitened circumstances but is re-united on Christmas Eve with her long-lost son who has made a fortune meanwhile in foreign parts. Here, if a character changes colour, it is always to become 'leichenblass' (p.159) or something similarly dramatic, as when the father learns that his son Heinrich has decided to leave home and choose his own career.

> 'Der grosse, stolze Mann lag bleich und heftig weinend, leichenblass und ganz

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1) T.S.XXI, 137.

> zerbrochen, vernichtet und trostlos im Sessel.' (p.161).

The mother searches desperately for a receipt to prove that an old debt has been paid:

> 'In Todesangst durchforschte ich manch Kisten.. Kalter Todesschweiss stand mir auf der Stirn..' (p.167).

Unexpectedly she produces the receipt in court where the 'creditor' has just sworn that the sum was never paid:

> 'Alle Versammelten sahen mit Verachtung den Doktor an, der mit leichenblassem Antlitz vor den Schranken stand.' (p.169).

And all of this in a story where the vocabulary is not intended to have any particularly gruesome connotation, rather is it second nature to the writer to apply such epithets and similes. At random one may find scattered throughout the various Novellen the very same macabre words and phrases found in Ryno, here applied seemingly without thought for their literal meaning and their incongruence in the context. Sufficient illustration will be found in the following quotations which are not

isolated references in the works in question, but taken from a wide range of Novellen to show the continual presence of this excessive language.

Die Verlobung (1823): Dorothea has promised to marry Baron von Wallen but, changing her mind at the last minute, she runs away:

> 'Sie klingelte, der Diener ward gesandt, um zu öffnen, und mit triefenden Kleidern, zitternd und todtenblass stürzte Dorothea herein, warf sich ihr sogleich stürmisch an die Brust und rief mit heiserer Stimme: rette mich! '[1]

Der Geheimnisvolle (1823). Cäcilie recounts her unhappiness in love with Kronenberg:

> 'Kronenberg war so heftig erschüttert, dass sein ganzer Körper zitterte. Sein Gesicht war leichenblass, und keine Thräne drang aus dem starren Auge.'

Cäcilie continues:

> 'Was quäl' ich mich, Dir, Abgestorbener, Dir, wandelnde Leiche, deutlich zu machen. Gäbe es noch Klöster, dahin würde ich flüchten.

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1) T.S. XVII, 148.

Nur ganz sich Gott in stillster Grabesein:
:samkeit widmen..'[1]

Glück giebt Verstand (1826):

'Todtenbleich sank der Minister in seinen Sessel zurück.'[2]

Der Wiederkehrende Griechische Kaiser (1831):

'Alle fuhren wie entsetzt auf, Johanna ward todtenbleich, dann eben so plötzlich mit Purpur übergossen.'[3]

Der Hexen-Sabbath (1832). Of old Gertrud who lived alone in her hut:

'So erschien sie allen, vorzüglich der Jugend, wie ein Leichnam, oder wie ein Gespenst.'[4]

Catharina learns that Robert has been burnt as an enemy of the Church:

'Catharina stiess einen lauten, durch:
:dringenden Schrei aus und lag todtenblass und regungslos wie eine Leiche im Sessel.' (p. 323).

Die Ahnenprobe (1833):

'Der Graf .. ging an das Fenster, kehrte

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1) T.S. XVII, 438.

2) T.S. XIX, 81.

3) T.S. XXII, 280.

4) T.S. XX, 260.

> dann zurück und fasste die Hand Edmunds. Der junge Mann erschrak, denn die Hand des Greises war todtenkalt, wie die einer Leiche.'[1]

Eigensinn und Laune (1836):

> 'Diese Wesen sind wie der Basilisk; sie vergiften mit den Augen.'[2]

> 'Gott im Himmel! schrie der Rath. Seine stimme zitterte, seine Knie wankten, er war todtenbleich.' (p. 387).

Even in the biographical Novelle Dichterleben (1826) Baptista, the old man at Oxford who tells character from physiognomy, talks of the beautiful hands of Professor Cuffe in the following terms:

> 'Ich könnte diese Hand immerdar in Liebe küssen, und schaudre doch vor dieser Schönheit zurück.. Immer glänsen mich in diesen Knöcheln Todtenschädel und die gebleichten Gebeine von Leichnamen auf.'[3]

In Waldeinsamkeit (1841) the old woman who supplies food to Linden in his imprisonment is referred to as 'das bleiche Gespenst' 'das blasse Gerippe'.

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1) T.S. XXII, 126.

2) T.S. XXIV, 281.

3) T.S. XVIII, 172.

These works are intentionally placed chrono:logically without reference to their content, for they represent a wide variety of subjects and are composed on equally differing levels of seriousness. But woven unfailingly into the pattern are the tiny Gothic threads, the signs of Tieck's life-long, partly unwitting, interest in the supernatural and its attendant forces. The last great work of Tieck was his Vittoria Accorombona (1840), considered by some to be his best and the one which Zeydel finds to be the most 'modern' of all Tieck's Novellen and 'comparatively free of his customary interminable colloquies.'[1] In time there lies almost half a century between this composition of the declining, lonely and disillusioned man and the schoolboy essay Ryno, yet do we not still find him here fully in command of the morbid terminology on which he had constantly drawn since those early days:[2]

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1) E.H. Zeydel, op. cit., p.319.

2) Vittoria Accorombona did not appear in Tieck's collected works. The edition to which the page numbers refer is that published by Hesse and Becker in Leipzig, n.d.

'Leichenblass, aber still lächelnd, sass Vittoria im Grase.' (p.18).

'..Der Jüngling stürzte, leichenblass und mit allem Ausdruck der Angst..' (p.66).

'Dem Kardinal versagte das Wort im Munde, er war todtenbleich geworden.' (p.109).

Donna Julia learns that Marcello has been staying with Peretti, although forbidden to enter the city:

'O Gott! Gott! Jesus Maria! so steht es? Ein kalter todesschweiss rann ihr in grossen Tropfen von der Stirn über das leichenblasse Angesicht.' (p.209).

Vittoria is sitting at her window writing of the scene before her:

'Nun geht sie fort, die Abendröte, die Königin; bläulich grau, wie Leichname stehn die Felsenkuppen, wie Gespenster fast, und mich ergreift ein Schauer und zittert an mein Herz hinan.' (p.272).

She turns round and sees a strange figure cowering in the corner:

'Sein Angesicht war wie das eines halb verwesten Leichnams, die Lippen blass: :bläulich und die Augen dunkel mit stechendem Blick.'

We have been concerned here solely with the vocabulary employed by Tieck and have taken our examples

intentionally from later works where horror is not the end in view, in order to show that these elements are present right throughout Tieck's works. It is thus demonstrably true that Tieck began his career as a writer in the prevailing style, devoting himself to the deliberate creation of terror and wallowing in thoughts of destruction and misery. In maturer years, as the previous section has shown, he revolted against the clichées and conventions of the Gothicists and ridiculed their extravagances and excesses, not hesitating to pour scorn upon himself in the process. Those who remain unaware of the magnitude of Tieck's work and the wide variety of styles and themes found within it (for Tieck, if known at all today, is known only as the author of the Märchen, notably Der Blonde Eckbert, and as a vague accomplice of Schlegel in the latter's translations of Shakespeare) would not place

him in the category of Gothic novelists,[1] nor would he himself have wished it, yet this is the direction in which his first writings led him, and it was therefore inevitable that Tieck, developing towards his own Romantic theory under the influence of a new-found love for the genuinely mediaeval, for music and for art, all gained from his associations with Wackenroder, alongside the mystic philosophy of Jakob Böhme, should carry over many of these elements with him.

Gothicism, we have already maintained, is a spirit and not a concatenation of devices, but this opinion has not always been shared by those who have

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1) This assertion seems fully reasonable despite a notice in The Monthly Review of 1826, Vol. 3, 136, which says of Tieck: 'But considered merely as a novelist, he is a complete exemplar of all the most extravagant horror-mongers who infest the literature of Germany. Of the three tales here given, the Tannenhäuser is full of wild preternatural horrors, Egbert Auburn is a medley of 'maudlin faerie' and revolting tragedy, and Love Magic is a perfect incubus of the imagination, in which the beauteous heroine is tempted by the devil to cut the throat of a child, for the sake of feeding to a green-eyed dragon, and raising a potent love-charm from its blood!'

worked in this field. In his Kunstform Schauerroman,[1] H. Garte has set out to establish that Jean Paul's Titan is, by virtue of the fact that all the super: :natural content of the book is already to be found in the terror novels, really to be classified among the Schauerromane. Very wisely Garte does not claim to establish proof of direct borrowing, but rather demonstrates that Jean Paul absorbed elements which were part of the everyday usage of the terror-writers. This intention is very similar to the design of the present work, but with the essential difference that Garte's case rests on the adduction of parallel instances in the use of devices and symbols.

A similar procedure is adopted by M.M. Redden in her dissertation on The Gothic Fiction in the American Magazines,[2] in which a list of the fourteen

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1) R. Garte, Kunstform Schauerroman: eine morphologische Begriffsbestimmung des Sensationsromans im 18. Jahrhundert von Walpole's Castle of Otranto bis Jean Paul's Titan (Leipzig Diss., 1935).

2) M.M. Redden, The Gothic Fiction in the American Magazines (Catholic Univ. of America Diss., 1939).

'characteristics of the English Gothic Novel' is drawn up, which may be referred to in determining what American magazine fiction qualifies for the epithet 'Gothic'. It will thus clearly be of value for us to confirm that most of these Gothic characteristics are in fact present in the works of Tieck for this will establish the acceptance of these devices into the romantic literature with which he identified himself, although they are here of much lesser significance than in the works where they originated.

As may be expected the lists of Redden and Garte have much in common, and we shall here follow that of the former supplementing this where necessary by reference to Garte. Redden adds details as to which are the accompanying phenomena associated with the main headings, thus for 'the Castle' she gives 'haunted wing of castle, winding staircase, heavily arrased chamber, loose floorboards, mouldering stone walls fringed with long grass, courtyard, temple, towers'. Similarly for the others in the list.

Our examples are related to these detailed lists rather than to the more vague headings. The references from Tieck are by no means exhaustive, but will suffice to establish the case.

I. The Castle. Horace Walpole had chosen a castle as the stage upon which his ghosts and visions were to perform, and so great were the possibilities of this that an old family residence became an almost indispensable feature of Gothic novels. Indeed Railo chose The Haunted Castle as the symbol of horror-romanticism in his book of that name, and there says:

> 'The reader quickly observes that this 'haunted castle' plays an exceedingly important part in these romances; so important, indeed, that were it eliminated the whole fabric of romance would be bereft of its foundation and would lose its predominant atmosphere. The entire stock-in-trade of horror-romanticism in its oldest and purest form consists chiefly of the properties and staff of this haunted castle, and ... to my mind acquaintance with the materials of horror--romanticism is best begun with this central stage and its appurtenances.'[1]

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1) E. Railo, op. cit., p. 7.

The castle is favoured for its dark galleries and vaults, which provide boundless scope for the unexpected, as well as for its association with the past, usually culminating in an ancestral curse upon some false heir. Mrs. Radcliffe retains the former element but alters the emphasis of the latter by her preference for ruin, which she finds more romantic. Her castles and monasteries therefore show signs of neglect, fractured walls, grass-grown courtyards and desolate interiors, and this we can find also in Tieck. Liebeswerben[1] has exactly such a castle of awesome appearance with grass growing up between the stones. Das Zauberschloss[2] embodies all the traditional characteristics, even to the use of the adjective 'gothisch':

> 'Vorn hatte das Häuschen einen kleinen Balkon und auf beiden Seiten zwei gothisch verzierte Thürmchen; in dem einen lief die Wendeltreppe hinauf, zu welchem man aus dem untern Saal durch eine Tür und einige Stufen gelangte.'

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1) T.S. XXVI, 400.

2) T.S. XXI, 220.

The same epithet is used by William Lovell [1] to describe a house in Kensea which is traditionally Gothic in atmosphere:

> 'Ein altes gothisches Gebäude steht hier in einer wüsten waldigen Gegend, der Garten ist verwildert, alle Bedienten sehen aus wie Barbaren, das ganze Haus hat ein kaltes unbequemes Ansehen.'

II. Castle Accessories. These are the furnishings and other contents of the castle, which go to make up the peculiar atmosphere of the whole building. A particular room within the castle may be found to be 'Gothic' in character, even if the castle itself is not; an unknown door will be discovered accidentally or missing papers found in a secret compartment of a desk. These features too are found in Tieck's works. A Gothic room is found in the ruins of Die Klausenburg (T.S. XXV, 136), while secret drawers and panels are fairly frequent, e.g. William Lovell (T.S. VI, 260), Abendgespräche (T.S. XXV, 217), Die Ahnenprobe

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1) T.S. VII, 138.

(T.S. XXII, 83), generally with the sole purpose of affording seemingly trapped characters a way and having no sinister significance, as in Der Jahrmarkt:

> 'An der Tapete rührte in ihrer Betrübnis Rosina an einem kleinen Haken, und es zeigte sich, dass dies eine Thür war, die nach den innern Gemächern führte.'[1]

Similar is the scene where Vittoria Accorombona is sitting writing in her room when suddenly she hears sounds from behind the wall as if someone were sleeping there:

> '.. fühlte sie mit der Spitze des Fingers plötzlich ein Knöpfchen, nicht grösser und dicker als etwa eine Linse, unkennbar in der Mauer, mit Farbe überstrichen - und sowie sie den Druck stärker wiederholte, öffnete sich plötzlich ohne Geräusch die Wand.'[2]

III. Dungeons and Subterranean Passages. These were usually discovered accidentally or else one of the characters led there for a specific purpose. Instances of the first kind may be found in Waldeinsamkeit (T.S. XXVI, 516), in the dungeon - atmosphere of

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1) T.S. XX, 118.

2) Vittoria Accorombona, 182-3.

Alla-Eeddin, with its 'feuchten Wänden einer engen unterirdischen Grube' (T.S. XI, 297). But in similar style to the Hall of Eblis in Beckford's Vathek, Tieck expands the underground passage to an otherworldly cavern where the hero meets with super: :natural forces or must undergo some test of courage. The most terrifying example is that in Chapter Nine of the Second Book of Abdallah, but a similar episode occurs in Die Sieben Weiber des Blaubart when the magician Bernhard leads Peter to a deep underground vault whose entrance was 'eine schwarze Felsenmauer, vor der ein zottiger grosser Hund lag und Wache zu halten schien.'[1]

IV. Natural Phenomena. Tieck's treatment of nature is more than merely regarding it as a device, and is one of the chief characteristics of his romanticism. As such it will later be treated as a separate topic, although, as the analysis of Ryno has shown, his early

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1) T.S. IX, 117-8.

works use the convention of storms and sunshine as stereotype backgrounds to horror and pleasure respectively.

V. Pictures. Pictures had always played a prominent part in Gothic fiction since first used by Walpole. Their special role is to remind of some forefather who must be avenged or whose curse must be lifted from the family. The animated picture has particular horrific potentialities, as in The Castle of Otranto, where to Manfred's astonishment 'the portrait of his grandfather uttered a deep sigh and heaved its breast', and shortly afterwards he saw it 'quit its panel, and descend on the floor with a grave and melancholy air.'[1] In Der Abschied, a tragedy written by Tieck when still nineteen and one of the best of his early works, this motif is employed with great skill, for the portrait not only moves but seems to bleed. Again in William Lovell, William tells of the picture at home which

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1) H. Walpole, The Castle of Otranto, (London, 1836) 193-4.

always affected him in some strange manner, and a powerful situation is created when a figure approaches whom Lovell recognises as jenes grauenhafte Bild meines Vaters!'[1]

He returns to the same device for atmosphere in Der Mondsüchtige:

> 'An den Wänden hingen alte Familienbilder, die Tapete hatte sich an einer Stelle losgeblattet... Die frische Nachtluft, die in den Raum strich, bewegte die Tapete, die Gebilde wankten in ihren Rahmen, und es war, als wenn Geister durch das Gemach zogen.'[2]

VI. Dreams. The dream in the Gothic fiction had served mainly to warn of some impending fate and it was still used by Tieck for this purpose, generally with gruesome association, as in Abubeker's dream of the coming disaster of Selim's attack on Ali (T.S. VIII, 90). In William Lovell Old Willy has a premonition of death in a dream in which the deceased Walter Lovell appears and says that they will soon meet again (T.S. VII, 83).

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1) T.S. VI, 155.
2) T.S. XXI, 85-6.

VII. Swoons. This is one of the more primitive effects in trivial literature, for the swoon is a seemingly automatic reaction to bad or surprising news, which occurs with alarming frequency or is staved off at the last minute by an act of extraordinary self-control on the part of the heroine. Tieck uses the device with moderation, although swoons and near-swoons are particularly evident in Der Alte Vom Berge:

> '.. er fühlte sich einer Ohnmacht nahe.'[1]
>
> 'Die Fremde zitterte, und war, als sie in das Zimmer des alten trat, einer Ohnmacht nahe.'[2]

And the same phrase is used for a third time in Glück giebt Verstand (T.S.XIX, 104) where it marks the climax of a series of succeeding emotional shocks suffered by Simon. Also in Der Weihnacht-Abend:

> 'Meine Angst stieg immer höher, bis zum Schwindel und zur Ohnmacht.'[3]

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1) T.S. XXIV, 230.

2) Ibid., 159.

3) T.S. XXI, 167.

and in Der Jahrmarkt:

> '.. ich möchte ohnmächtig werden, wenn ich nur könnte!'[1]

VIII. The Supernatural. Tieck's first works show an indiscriminate use of the supernatural, as in Ryno, where apparitions, visions, ghosts, voices and symbols are applied mostly without any clear distinction between the real and the unreal. But as his literary gifts develop Tieck is able to refine these supernatural elements and use them to suit his own purposes, instead of allowing them to get beyond the point where they are deprived of all significance by their very frequency. How Tieck adapts this to artistic ends will be seen in a later chapter.[2]

IX. Clerical and Conventional Milieu. Walpole's Castle of Otranto had introduced a monk in the person of Father Jerome and in his tragedy The Mysterious Mother he presented the first criminal monks, yet,

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1) T.S. XX, 62.

2) See Chapter Four, Section B.

as already pointed out, it was the criminal monk Ambrosio in Lewis' The Monk who really started the long line of sensuous and intemperate clergy in the romances. Convents and monasteries, as places offering refuge to persecuted heroes and heroines, became a necessity when tyrannical fathers and merciless uncles seemed about to catch up with their hapless victims at last, while the downfall of a monk from his life of voluntary and holy asceticism to the depths of lust and self-indulgence allowed these fearless novelists wider scope for their lurid imaginations than ever before. Tieck, who was, often to the despair of some of his friends, a rigid moralist in all his writing, had no part in this extreme trend; although Alla-Moddin has a sinister priest Sebastino, it is because he is introduced as a representative of the Jesuits and the Inquisition that he is painted in such dark colours. This same opposition is again expressed in the person of the more sensual priest Dechant in Der Hexen-Sabbath (T.S. XX, 235), although Tieck never attempts direct portrayals of the procedure

and methods of the Inquisition as Schiller had done in Der Geisterseher and Mrs. Radcliffe in The Italian. M.M. Scheiber, who has made a detailed study of Tieck's attitude to the Church,[1] offers the following explanation:

> 'When he describes an historical event and gives the clergy ignoble parts in the tale, he does so for one of three reasons: he may be imitating Scott; he may be following historical sources which he finds available; or he may be striving for theatrical or dramatic effects.'[2]

Tieck certainly had no knowledge of Scott before 1817 and this influence has no part in Tieck's early works. Of the remaining two suggestions, the latter seems more acceptable, and the possibility that these effects had been learnt from the trivial novel is very high.

X. Harems. The harem is a constituent part of that aspect of the Gothic novel which has its setting in the Orient. Beckford's Vathek is the best example

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1) M.M. Scheiber, Ludwig Tieck and the Mediaeval Church (Cath. University of America Press, 1939).

2) Ibid., 71.

of such a work, but it is doubtful whether the harem may be considered a main characteristic of the genre as a whole. Tieck certainly uses Eastern settings in some of his works, e.g. Almansur, Die Brüder and Abdallah, but his inspiration here was mainly the Arabian Nights, coloured by what he found in Olearius and Mandelsloh. While it is therefore true to say that a harem is implied at the court of Ali in Abdallah (T.S. VIII, 1) this is merely incidental, the essential factor being the use of Oriental background.

XI. Tyrants. Dominating parents or guardians are not frequent in Tieck because he is more interested in portraying people than types, and the tyrant, by his one-sidedness of personality and lack of any trace of humanity, can only remain a type. Thus Selim's refusal to allow the marriage of Abdallah with Zulma may be regarded as the motif which necessitates Abdallah's betrayal of his father, but

this stubbornness originates in an old promise made by Selim, whose nature is really anything but tyrannical. For the utter tyrant in Tieck, one must turn to the non-mortal creatures of diabolical nature, such as Mondal, whose very character is a personification of cruelty on a supra-human level.

XII. Identification Devices. In the Gothic novel the son was usually recognised by his parent by some physical mark, thus re-uniting the family and resolving the situation. This was the means adopted by Horace Walpole to elevate young Theodore from peasant status to the nobility. This development is not to be foreseen by the reader, as the father in this case is no other than Father Jerome, who had in fact only entered the Church after the loss of his family but now recognises his son by "the mark of a bloody arrow". (A similar situation occurs in Tieck's tale Die Verlobung, in which a wandering knight comes across a hermit monk who is finally revealed as his uncle). The crudity of this

cumbersome device is obvious, but was clearly known to Tieck who used it rather as an after-thought to clinch the position than as the traditional climax to a long search for missing relatives. In Die Vogelscheuche, Baron Milzwurm recognises Ledebrinna as his son by means of a 'staged' recognition, the physical marks which decide the issue not being genuine:

> 'Er hatte ihn, als sich dem Ledebrinna in der Hitze des Tages das Halstuch etwas verschoben hatte, an drei rothen Pünktchen unterhalb des Halses wieder erkannt.'[1]

Similarly in Waldeinsamkeit Ferdinand is recognised by 'ein lichtbrauner Leberfleck auf seiner linken Wange',[2] while in Der Jahrmarkt Bernhard proves his identity to his former foster-father, Pastor Gottfried, by showing the burn caused by the shot which was to have prevented him from running away:

> 'Er streifte den Aermel auf und zeigte ein braunes Mal am Arme. Sehen Sie

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1) T.S. XXVII, 309.

2) T.S. XXVI, 544.

wohl an dieser Brandstelle, dass ich jener Bernhard bin.'[1]

XIII. Sound Devices. For Tieck, the romanticist, every aspect of nature has a special significance, not least the sounds of nature, for nature is an animate object whose sounds are its means of communication with man. This will accordingly be dealt with later in the broader discussion of the role assigned to nature by Tieck. But he still uses other sounds of fearful association, notably the striking of the hour of midnight to mark the hour of magic when the supernatural powers begin their work:

'Die Uhr zeigte wieder jene traurige, schwarze Stunde - ich ward mir selbst wie ein entsprungener Gefangene zurückgegeben.'[2]

'Eine schauerliche Stille umgab sie; ganz dumpf und fern hörten sie jetzt die grosse Uhr zwölf schlagen.'[3]

There are also the indefinite sounds for which no

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1) T.S. XX, 141.
2) T.S. VII, 261.
3) T.S. XVII, 240.

physical explanation can be found and which are therefore doubly portentous:

> 'Wie ferne, bekannte und unbekannte Stimmen fing es an, hinter der Wand zu reden.'[1]

And to this we may add the very important passage from William Lovell which summarises the whole relationship of Tieck to the material world of his youth:

> 'Es ist, als wollten wohlbekannte Stimmen aus der Wand herausreden, und ich entsetze mich vor jedem Schalle. Wirft das Licht nicht seltsame Schatten gegen die Mauer? Wer kann wissen, was ein Schatten ist und was er zu bedeuten hat.'[2]

XIV. Tombs. The terror-novelists liked to dwell for the sake of morbidity on the impermanence of all matter, but Tieck is concerned with the metaphysical rather than the physical aspect of death. True, graveyard scenes held a fascination for him because of their macabre associations, as we know from his frequent visits to them for the express purpose of

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1) T.S. IX, 167.

2) T.S. VII, 229-30.

conjuring up ghosts, but in his writings this has been subdued and almost extinguished. One still finds exclamations like that of Edmund Burton:

> '.. der Kirchhof sieht mir so schön und freundlich aus'[1]

while the young lieutenant in Abendgespräche who tells of his youthful efforts to make the acquaintance of ghosts is almost certainly Tieck himself:

> 'Ich trieb mich oft um Mitternacht auf einsamen Kirchhöfen, oder verrufenen Orten umher, und mehr wie einmal rief die bösen Geister, oder die Verstorbenen mit allen Kräften meines Gemüthes auf.'[2]

In Der Fremde Lowenstein, returning to his home-town, is overtaken by a fearsome stranger who, in the middle of the wood, takes his leave and vanishes through a tiny door into a small building. On enquiring what the building is, Löwenstein is told that it is a family vault.

This brief survey of Gothic devices illustrates the unconscious dependence of Tieck upon these

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1) T.S.VII, 171.
2) T.S. XXV, 205.

originals and how they came to find a place in his maturer work. And the element of unconsciousness is of some importance, for Tieck strove to avoid, often unsuccessfully, such phrases and conventions as he knew to be borrowed from the popular novel. The heroines of these stories had, for example, the custom of turning their gaze heavenwards when seeking consolation, as in such passages as follow, all taken from Mrs. Radcliffe:

> 'The Marchioness sighed deeply, and raising her eyes to heaven, endeavoured to assume a look of pious resignation.'[1]
>
> 'At these words, Adeline clasped her hands, and raised her eyes to Heaven in silent despair.'[2]
>
> 'He lifted his eyes towards heaven, and a gleam of moonlight discovered peace and resignation stealing on the lines of sorrow.'[3]

In Peter Lebrecht II[4] Tieck selects this feature

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1) A Sicilian Romance, Ballantyne's Novelist's Library, X, 65. All further page references to Mrs. Radcliffe's novels will be to this edition, abridged as B.N.L., X.

2) The Romance of the Forest, Ibid., 134.

3) The Mysteries of Udolpho, Ibid., 254.

4) T.S. XV, 8.

for particular ridicule as a meaningless phrase which could easily be dispensed with:

> 'Selbst der Verstand und der gen Himmel gerichtete Blick scheinen mir nicht so charakteristisch, denn der erste ist ziemlich unsichtbar, und das zweite Merkzeichen scheint immer seltener zu werden, und würde vielleicht ganz ausgehn, wenn ein starker Körperbau manche Menschen nicht zwänge, ihren Kopf gerade und aufrecht zu tragen.'

Yet at other times in his own works, when he is not consciously intent on making a case against the trivial romances, these very same expressions are used by him in corresponding circumstances:

> 'Ich bin bereit, sagte der Mann, erhob die Finger und schlug die grossen Augen wie zum Himmel hinauf.'[1]

> 'Das mit dem Vocativ soll auf mich gehn, weil ich die Augen manchmal gen Himmel aufschlage. Woher soll uns aber Trost und Hoffnung kommen, wenn nicht von dort?'[2]

In Karl von Berneck Georg and Frans, Karl's servants, discuss their master's seeming madness. Georg says:

> 'Die Haut schaudert mir jedesmal, wie sich

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1) T.S. XXI, 169.

2) T.S. XXIV, 417.

> ihm dann die Haare aufrichten, wie sein Auge nach dem Himmel starrt, als wenn er Trost herab zwingen wollte.'[1]

Similarly when Tieck deliberately sets himself to analyse the characteristics of Mrs. Radcliffe's stories (in the passage already cited[2]) he makes a catalogue of episodes at which he gently laughs, although from our vantage point in time we can clearly see his own liberal use of these features with precisely the same intentions as Mrs. Radcliffe. The three principal devices listed by him are:

1) 'Mein Stübchen muss recht einsam liegen.'

Mrs. Radcliffe contrived to accommodate characters who were to undergo 'supernatural' experiences in rooms far removed from the main building, generally in some disused or haunted wing:

> 'A servant now appeared and conducted Emily to her chamber, which was in a remote part of the castle.'[3]

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1) T.S. XI, 101.

2) T.S. XXI, 194. See Page 55.

3) The Mysteries of Udolpho, B.N.L., X, 328.

But how often does Tieck, less deliberately indeed but for the same reason, namely the suggestion of possible lurking dangers, copy this feature:

> '.. abgelegen von den übrigen Zimmern.'[1]
>
> 'Ferdinand sass indessen in seinem grossen abgelegenen Zimmer.'[2]
>
> '.. das Getümmel sogar bis in die abgelegene Krankenstube drang.'[3]

2) 'Es schlägt so dumpf zwölf in der Ferne.' Midnight is the hour when ghosts and spirits come into their own and as such, the approach of this hour had a special significance for human beings in eerie surroundings. Every writer of thrillers has made use of this fact, certainly Mrs. Radcliffe:

> 'Ludovico in his remote chamber.. heard the hall-clock, at a great distance, strike twelve. It is midnight, said he, and he looked suspiciously round the spacious chamber.'[4]

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1) T.S. XXI, 85.

2) T.S. XIX, 247.

3) T.S. XVII, 406.

4) The Mysteries of Udolpho, B.N.L., X, 472.

But Tieck too liked to remind his characters that the formidable hour was come:

> 'Ganz dumpf und fern hörten sie jetzt die grosse Uhr zwölf schlagen.'[1]
>
> 'Um Mitternacht da halten unsre Bundsgenossen Wacht.'[2]

3) 'Das graue Männchen' recurs frequently in this kind of literature as the typical form in which spirits from the other world reveal themselves to human beings; most often their presence is quite sudden and unexpected and they are able to disappear with equal facility, having delivered their message or having given their warning. We find the creature in several of Tieck's works, as a 'graues Wesen' in Vittoria Accorombona,[3] as a 'graues Männchen' in Abendgespräche[4] and as a 'kleinen, aschgrauen, im Winkel sitzenden Mann' in Das Zauberschloss.[5]

This account does not by any means exhaust the

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1) T.S. XVIII, 240.
2) T.S. XI, 179.
3) Vittoria Accorombona, 272.
4) T.S. XXV, 211.
5) T.S. XXI, 203.

number of devices common both to the Gothic novel and the romantic Novelle, for these are legion. We might mention in addition the lamp which burns blue as a sign of the presence of some supernatural agency,[1] the use of symbols of magic or mystic association, such as the ring given by Omar to Abdallah, the strange root in Abraham Tonelli or the apple in Der Abschied, the rays of the moon suddenly revealing something that is being desperately searched for or whose presence was otherwise unsuspected,[2] the physical deformity often attributed to personages of supernatural significance,[3] furthermore the utilisation of such Gothic motifs as the old family curse against which no human power can prevail, found in Karl von Berneck and Abdallah, and the emphasis on class distinction in marriage, the

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1) T.S. XXVI, 105; T.S. XXV, 154.

2) T.S. XXI, 133; Vittoria Accorombona, 61.

3) T.S. XXIV, 155 (Eliesar); T.S. XXIV, 66 (Hannes); T.S. XXV, 127 (Ernestine).

person of lowly birth generally betraying by his character and elegance the likelihood that he is in fact of aristocratic descent, with the conventional recognition scene to ensure a happy ending.[1]

In this section the attempt has been made to establish the continuing use of much of the apparatus of Gothic fiction by the Romanticist Tieck, his willingness to work with the same raw materials as his predecessors had used, while striving to adapt these to suit a different purpose. That these multifarious elements are now considered typically 'romantic' in quality is a tribute to the artistic taste and literary ideals of Tieck, but the foregoing outline must dispel the belief that Tieck's originality lay in the discovery of the features enumerated. And while it is true that his personal contribution can be understood only by asking after the <u>how</u> of his poetic technique and not after the <u>what</u> of his available substance, it must be conceded

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1) As in <u>Die Ahnenprobe</u> and <u>Vittoria Accorombona</u>.

that, conditioned as a writer invariably is by the age in which he lives, the nature of his interests and the influences to which he is most directly subjected, the degree to which he is able to stamp his own personality on the inherited literary stock, offers some indication at least of his individuality. Boyesen's claims for Tieck as an innovator are thus demonstrably untrue:

> 'Forest solitude, churchyards at midnight, ruins of convents and baronial castles, in fact, all the things which we are now apt to call Romantic, are the favourite haunts of Tieck's muse. It is he and his school who have the doubtful merit of having introduced all these sepulchral situations into literature; Tieck was excessively fond of moonlight, and literally flooded his tales with its soft, dim splendor; therefore moonlight is now Romantic. He never allows a hero to make a declaration of love without a near or distant accompaniment of horn or bugle; accordingly the bugle is called a Romantic instrument.. and so on in infinitum.'[1]

It is not that every theme which Tieck broached was

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1) H.H. Boyesen, 'Literary Aspects of the Romantic School' in The Atlantic Monthly XXXVII, 1876, p.611.

of itself intrinsically Romantic, but rather that everything he touched seemed to acquire the qualities of Romanticism. The features themselves, less poetical but no less real, were certainly already present.

Returning to the terminology earlier employed, it may be said that Tieck retained, albeit unconsciously to a great extent, the devices of the popular romances, while rejecting their fearsome intentions or 'Gothic spirit'.

It is this latter element that must next be considered in an effort to determine the new direction of the Romanticists, their more skilful application of literary techniques, their refinement of the existing styles and themes.

And all are exemplified by Tieck.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Development of Gothic Literary Themes and Styles by Tieck

As Mrs. Radcliffe has been taken to represent the Gothic school of literature for the present purpose of comparing it with the later German Romantic school represented by Tieck, it is of value and interest to find the works of both these writers assessed by independent critics in almost the same words, a fact which must surely imply a minimal similarity in atmosphere and effect between the two. Mathias[1] speaks of Mrs. Radcliffe as

> '.. the mighty magician of The Mysteries of Udolpho bred and nourished by the Florentine Muses in their sacred solitary caverns, amid the pale shrines of Gothick superstition, and all the dreariness of enchantment.'

In 1841 Mrs. Sarah Austin published her Fragments from German Prose Writers,[2] a collection of passages from the works of forty-six German authors in English translation, and there she says of Tieck's fairy-tales:

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1) J. Mathias, The Pursuits of Literature.

2) London, 1841.

> 'The fantastic grace, the mysterious charm, of his 'Märchen' are unrivalled, they seem written not only about, but by fairies and 'creatures of the element'. He manages to combine a sort of infantine simplicity with the gorgeousness of eastern imagery, or the dimness of Gothic superstition.'

Of significance here is the common phrase 'Gothic superstition', with all the visions that this suggests, as also the choice of epithets 'pale' and 'dim', for it is in the indistinct twilight region between reality and what may summarily be called unreality that these two writers are at their greatest. But if their choice of material and their sources of inspiration have much that is common, their literary techniques and the effects for which they strive are very diverse, this most obvious point of contact, namely the fusion of reality and unreality, marking equally strongly the fundamental opposition of intention. For Mrs. Radcliffe the unreality is artificial, the supernatural is merely an image, and the resources of nature, the material world, the fears and susceptibilities of man, are

manipulated by the novelist as marionettes on a puppet stage, introducing a hint of divine participation here and accompanying it by certain reactions on the part of the heroine there, only in the end to eliminate all the extraordinary content and to provide, by further stage management, purely rational explanations for the situations she has created.

Tieck's objective was at once more indefinite and more complex, and consequently his method demanded a deeper understanding of the literary potentialities of the material at his disposal, as well as greater skill in marshalling it to his purpose. He differs primarily from Mrs. Radcliffe in that the existence of supernatural powers and even the fact of their participation in human affairs are no longer mere artistic embellishments to a story but are an essential presupposition to a philosophy of the Universe, because he indulged in the words of Tymms, 'an apparently genuine superstitious belief

in the latent sources of sinister power in nature - menacing natural forces which might take possession of a man's mind like a malignant fiend.'[1]

For Tieck 'inanimate object' is a contradiction in terms, since 'existence' can imply only 'living existence'; sounds are not mere physically audible effects caused by vibrations of the air or our emotions would not be stirred by music; smell and colour must be more than incidental ornaments of the flower since they are the characteristics by which one flower is distinguished from another; and why should man, who has no voice in the beginning and end even of his own earthly life, claim sovereignty in a world where he remains but for a moment and whose eternal laws he must obey?

It is in his treatment of these two basic ingredients of the Romantic novel, Nature and the Supernatural, that Tieck's depth and originality are

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1) R. Tymms, German Romantic Literature (London, 1955) p.52.

to be found, and it is here too that his greatest contribution to the progress of German imaginative writing lies.

A. Nature. The first Gothic authors before Mrs. Radcliffe had shown little interest in nature beyond the convention of a background storm to accompany an evil deed, that is, as an additional effect to intensify the sombre atmosphere. The relentless succession of exciting episodes and the need to concentrate upon the heightening and maintenance of suspense allowed no place for lengthy digression upon a natural scene that was completely irrelevant to the issues at stake. But whenever any indication was made, and here the German terrorists played a determining part, the impression was invariably a panoramic one viewed from a height and sweeping with very few words of description across a wide expanse of country.

This is the landscape we find in Mrs. Radcliffe's

first and least successful composition, The Castles of Athlin and Dunbayne, in which her immense gifts as a verbal landscape-painter still lay unrevealed; but even with the development of these powers the point of observation remains unchanged, as indeed it does in the later more diffuse natural descriptions of the Romanticists. This then is one of Mrs. Radcliffe's most important contributions to the novel, the occasional relaxation from the incessant excitement of the narrative in order to bring to her stories, all of which are intentionally placed in foreign milieux, the warmth and interest of local colour. A close study of her nature-descriptions will reveal a technique of three-fold construction. Contrast of landscape is a powerful device, for it maintains the continued restlessness of the narrative while not actually advancing the story and thus retains the expectant receptivity in the reader's mind which is so necessary to the unfolding of the Gothic tale. The contrast may be between storm and sunshine,

mountains and plainland, snowy peaks and fertile vineyards, rural gaiety and urban intrigue, but it remains on a level of purely descriptive comparison, the differing scenes usually being visible simultaneously from the height of a fixed vantage-point, thus:

> 'The lawn, which was on each side bounded by hanging woods, descended in gentle declivity to a fine lake, whose smooth surface reflected the surrounding shades. Beyond appeared the distant country, arising on the left into bold romantic mountains, and on the right exhibiting a soft and glowing landscape whose tranquil beauty formed a striking contrast to the wild sublimity of the opposite craggy heights.'[1]

Or consider the very strong visual contrast contained in the following passage from The Romance of the Forest:

> 'The scenes of this romantic country shifted to their eyes. Now frowning in dark and gloomy grandeur, it exhibited only tremendous rocks, and cataracts rolling from the heights into some deep and narrow valley, along which their united waters roared and foamed, and burst away to regions inaccessible to mortal foot;

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1) A Sicilian Romance, B.N.L., I, 58.

> and now the sun rose less fiercely wild;
> 'The pomp of groves and garniture of fields'
> were intermingled with the ruder features
> of nature, and while the snow rose on the
> summit of the mountain, the vine blushed
> at its foot.'[1]

In both instances the contrasting countryside is felt to be 'romantic', an illuminating epithet since the Romantic writers were to lay great stress on the contrasts and oppositions not only in nature but in all aspects of human existence, life and death, happiness and sorrow, good and evil, matter and mind. Indeed contrast, change, movement, these form the essence of the Romantic attitude, for it is itself a philosophy of universal inconstancy. But the present discussion must be restricted to the romantic treatment of nature and this may well be summarised as a portrayal of nature as a continually changing element, possessing a life of its own and somehow involved with the destiny of man. It is still possible to find verbal antitheses as in Mrs. Radcliffe,

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1) The Romance of the Forest, B.N.L., X, 180.

but no longer is it a placid commentary on an accumulation of static objects, but an animation of the scene itself, no more does the writer scan the horizon and recount the varying landscapes he sees lying side by side, but now it is nature itself which rushes past in perpetually changing forms and no man knows which is its true face, if indeed any there be.

In Der Geheimnisvolle, for instance, Tieck himself identifies this concept of change with Romanticism, just as Mrs. Radcliffe had done:

> 'Jetzt war er in die Thäler eines romantischen Gebirges eingedrungen, und der Wechsel von Wald und Berg, Hügel und Wiese ergötzte ihn innig.'[1]

But notice how in the following passage he proceeds not merely to state the fact of the contrasts in scenery but to interpret them and to analyse their various effects upon the mind, hence the particular interest in shape and size:

> 'Dürre Steppen, kleinere Wäldchen, sonderbare

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1) T.S. XIV, 402-3.

> Steinformationen wechseln plötzlich mit grossartigen Waldpartien, schönem Rasen und edlen Bergformen ab. Alles mehr anreizend, als befriedigend, fast epigrammatisch, wilder Scherz in den Granittrümmern, melancholischer Ernst in den Tannen: oft ängstigend, wie ein schlimmer Traum, dannwieder eine so unbedeutende Gegend, dass sie Einsamkeit in ihr zu einem drückenden, höchst unbehaglichen Gefühle wird.'[1]

The view is still panoramic, whole mountain ranges, meadows, woods and terraces are at once distinguishable, yet none is singled out for detailed description. But the movement discernible is an innovation, the views change before the eyes of the observer, for Nature itself is actively participating in the action.

The second prominent feature in Mrs. Radcliffe's treatment of nature follows indirectly from what has already been said, namely the reluctance to indulge in lengthy and microscopic descriptions, for she excelled in the art of <u>suggestion</u> and exploited to the full the realisation that man's curiosity is more

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1) T.S. XXI, 78-9.

sympathetically engaged when dwelling on objects known to him only in their broadest outlines. This was by no means limited to natural descriptions, for it served also to allow a certain vagueness about situations in which she intended to imply possible abnormal features which the development of the story prevented her from explaining. Her method was to cast over the scene a thin veil which, as she knew, 'thrown over the features of beauty, renders them more interesting by partial concealment.' Perhaps it may best be thought of as an early form of 'audience participation', a mannerism calculated to make the reader contribute something of his own to the tale by inviting him to fill in the blanks. This helps explain the preference for the dimness of twilight hours which has already been noticed, and accounts for the acceptance of so depressing a substance as mist as a highly romantic element, when other concealing agencies, such as clusters of trees which obscure a building or the shadows cast across a

doorway which render the contents of the room invisible, have already been overworked. Mrs. Radcliffe's descriptions are therefore the products of her own imagination, since she deliberately set out to sketch landscapes unfamiliar to her, as descriptions based on genuine models may well have resulted in an undesirable excess of realism detrimental to the intended atmosphere of indefinite vagueness. For the authoress, therefore, as for Emilia, the heroine of A Sicilian Romance, 'Fancy drew the scene'. The degree of success which attended her efforts is easily demonstrated, for has not her picture of Venice, a city which she never visited, been celebrated by Byron[1] in company with other portrayals of that city by greater writers than she:

> 'I loved her from boyhood - she to me
> Was as a fairy city of the heart,
> Rising like water-columns from the sea,
> Of Joy the sojourn, and of Wealth the mart;
> And Otway, Radcliffe, Schiller, Shakespeare's art
> Had stamped her image on me...'

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1) Childe Harold's Pilgrimage, Canto IV, xviii.

In this respect Mrs. Radcliffe's novels were far in advance of the conventional horror stories of the time, while Tieck's first writings reflected here, as in so many other facets, the models he was copying. It was not until he came to reject these commonly accepted standards and temper his facility with considerations of artistic taste that his imagination was brought to bear not solely upon the intricacies of plot and character, but upon the whole natural atmosphere of his works, until like Jean Paul, 'er schildert die Gegenden am liebsten, die er niemals gesehen, würde auch den Anblick derselben vermeiden, weil ihn die Wirklichkeit nur stören möchte.'[1]

The following scene from Eine Sommerreise is as typical as anything that will be found, contrasts are prominent, mist partially obscures the outlook and only as this slowly recedes do the mountains and meadows become gradually visible; the panoramic

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1) T.S. XXIII, 45.

effect of light, form, colour are more important than the natural constituents of the scene, the whole process personified as a struggle between darkness and light, Nature as an animate, active force:

> 'Einem Wunder gleich riss sich eine grosse breite Spalte in dem dichtgewundenen Nebel, und grünes Land, sonnenbeglänzter Wald lag unten, gegenüber funkelnde Berge im wachsenden Lichte. Kaum entdeckt, brachen links und rechts neue Klüfte im weissen Nebelmeer auf, und wie selige Inseln zeigten sich von allen Seiten Gebirg und Flur im spielenden Glanz des fluthenden Sonnenscheines, indessen noch dazwischen wie Wände oder Säulen die ineinandergeflochtenen Wolken alle Aussicht deckten. Nun entstand ein Kampf zwischen Licht und Dunkel. Die Wolken lösten sich in Streifen, die leichter und wolliger zerflossen und sich endlich in den Glanz verloren und untertauchten. So wurden von unsichtbarer Hand allgemach die Vorhänge weggehoben und das ganze Gebirge mit seinen schönen Formen lag weit ausgebreitet in allen Abstufungen des vollen und gemilderten Lichtes vor den Augen der entzückten Beschauer.'[1]

The third aspect of Mrs. Radcliffe's attitude to nature which must be examined is that of <u>function</u>. What importance is attached to nature's role in the

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1) T.S. XXIII, 26.

story, to what end does she, unlike her predecessors, devote so much time to landscape pictures? A part-answer has already been supplied, the descriptive passages are there for their own sake because the authoress herself experienced deep enjoyment in contemplating the face of nature, and through them she added colour and warmth, light and shade to the stories themselves. Nature, one might say, was a symbol of the christian Divine, the form in which God most clearly reveals Himself to man, and inversely, the element through which man can most easily identify himself with God. Along with the purely aesthetic motive already indicated, Nature is intended to implant within the hero or heroine a sense of religious awe, an awareness of Divine protection, and it is for this reason that a particularly sinister sequence of events will be followed by a retreat into the solitude of nature. Throughout all her work an insistence on the ethical values of the Christian faith is discernible and most frequently

it is a pastoral scene which forms the liaison between the narrative and the didactic:

> 'All nature seemed to have awakened from death into life. The spirit of St.Aubert was renovated. His heart was full: he wept: and his thoughts ascended to the Great Creator.'[1]

At no time, however, does nature, even in its religious function, become more than a passive reflection of the Divine, and it is only with the Romanticists that nature came to be a part of the Divine. Here it is necessary to make a distinction between the varying concepts of the Divinity, for the power which animates the Romantic world of nature, brings it to life and elevates it to a higher status than that enjoyed by the mortal characters, is no longer the Biblical Deity of Christianity but the classical concept of 'das Dämonische'. Sunshine is no more a symbol of God's favour than a thunder: :storm may be interpreted as the sign of Divine wrath, and most often the pleasure and peace of a harmonious natural scene will inculcate into the hero the

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1) The Mysteries of Udolpho, B.N.L., X, 239.

knowledge that the powers of evil are lulling him into a sense of well-being in order that his dis: :enchantment may be the greater. This is the basic fear that plagues all of Tieck's sensitive personages, that the power of nature is so strong that hostility of scenery foretells disaster and an amicable scene foretells the approach of a hostile one, for

'Selbst die schönste Gegend hat Gespenster.'[1]

Hence active change, not passive contrast, is decisive, for it can of itself produce fear and thereby draw attention to the possibility of demonic forces at work in the immediate neighbourhood. Whereas the Gothic writers used the storm merely as a signature-tune to introduce evil, Tieck made the storm part of the evil, thus making any milieu and any situation a potential stage for unforeseeable events.

Much has already been written about Tieck's

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1) T.S. IV, 128.

interpretation and application of the demonic.[1] His first interest in the subject was contemporaneous with his introduction to mediaeval German literature and germanic mythology through Wackenroder and much of his material is in essence unoriginal, even if its presentation is unique. The water-maidens who tempt unwary man to join them in the deep, the industrious elves whose presence brings fertility and prosperity to the district, only to be followed by depression and barrenness when they are driven away by man's curiosity, are themes more familiar from the works of other writers.

Clearly the possibility of rich and colourful nature descriptions is in no way impaired by this,

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1) W. Busch, Das Element des Dämonischen in Ludwig Tiecks Dichtung (Delitzsch, 1911). M. Thalmann, Probleme der Dämonie in Ludwig Tiecks Schriften (Weimar, 1919). Also the work of H. Hemmer already quoted. Busch reaches the neat, if over-simplified conclusion that Tieck took his character-demonism from his own experience, the demonic as a universal evil power from the horror literature and his nature-demonism from his interpretation of the mystic philosophers.

but there is a strong tendency, due to some extent to the love of panorama but also to the need for forms of nature most likely to inspire fear, for certain kinds of scene to predominate. The 'fantastic forms', 'craggy heights' and 'cold projections' of Mrs. Radcliffe are all perpetuated by Tieck, as too are the dark woods, 'forests of gloomy pine' and 'precipices, black with forests', but these two specific milieux, mountains and woods, are imbued with a particular demonic significance. Undoubtedly this originated in the Gothic situation that associated mountains and woods with fear because it was in such solitary regions that bandits and marauders were most likely to be encountered. Tieck removed the bandits and replaced them with demonic forces whose power was much more formidable in that it was intangible and indomitable.

Mountains were identified with the romantic 'Unknown' and the 'Beyond', having no factual

foundation but introduced as part of the nondescript setting between reality and imagination where the supernatural was most often encountered. As in the case of Bertha in Der Blonde Eckbert the fear of mountains was instinctive and associated with the word itself:

> 'Das blosse Wort Gebirge, wenn ich davon hatte reden hören, war meinem kindischen Ohr ein fürchterlicher Ton gewesen.'[1]

In Der Runenberg Christian's father ascribes a magnetic power to the mountains, the mere sight of which could lure the unwary to destruction:

> 'Immer hättest du dich vor dem Anblicke des Gebirges hüten und bewahren mussen.'[2]

The most complete application of this occurs however when these fears emanate directly from the mountains themselves with no intermediary association of sound or sight. Here the terror is inexplicable and inescapable, a genuine demonism of the countryside which is more effective than the introduction of any

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1) T.S. IV, 148.

2) T.S. IV, 237.

supernatural apparition could possibly be. What more inevitable for Marie in Tod des Dichters that she feels herself involved in the quickly changing moods of the 'beseelte Landschaft':

> 'Draussen im Gebirge, als wir in dem grünen engen Thal spazieren gingen, war es einmal so. Die Sonne schien so schön, und alles funkelte, wie lauter Freude und Lust, und tausend Vögelchen sangen: mit einemmale war der Himmel dunkel, schwarz und das Thal so finster, wie ein Keller: wir konnten die Wolken und das Gewitter zwischen den engen hohen Wänden nicht kommen sehen.'[1]

A similar awareness of impending horror is experienced in the woods, whether it is the childish fear of Andres and Marie in Die Elfen who promise not to stray away, 'denn vor dem Walde fürchten wir uns'[2], or the sensations felt by that most romantic of all Tieck's characters, Franz Sternbald, on viewing the woods:

> 'Wenn er nach dem Walde sah, empfand er eine seltsame Beklemmung: in manch Augenblicken glaubte er, dass dieser Tag sehr merkwürdig seyn würde.'[3]

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1) T.S. XIX, 409.

2) T.S. IV, 365.

3) T.S. XVI, 64.

Nor does this anxiety always remain merely theoretical, for it is in the woods that much of the supernatural action really takes place. Strange creatures may appear, scenes of wonder suddenly spring up, weary travellers experience mysterious, meaningful dreams, until the reader finally comes to associate the introduction of woodland scenery with the approach of some critical development in the story. Unlike the mountains, woods and forests are additionally characterised by a multiplicity of sounds both of familiar and unknown origin, all of which in the universe of Tieck's have some deeper significance. Fuller reference will be made to this later.

All of this constitutes a considerable advance: ;ment in the structure of the novel and the conflict of natural forces, but of still greater import is the progress in psychological interest. Mrs. Radcliffe and her Gothic confrères were most unwilling to retard their narratives with analyses of the reactions of

their somewhat mechanical characters to the plights in which they constantly found themselves, mainly because this was of no consequence to the sensation of the story and doubtless also because the portrayal of the human mind in gradual development or decline was a task outwith their literary capabilities. The Romanticists, by contrast, were particularly given to that introspective contemplation which replaced the physical adventure of the popular novelists, and took an especial delight in following the mental fluctuations of the hero in his search for happiness. And in this also an important role is assigned to nature, for landscape has acquired an entirely novel function in that it is now used to symbolise the hero's soul, that is to say, nature is described subjectively. To the brightness and sunshine of a spring morning corresponds joy and pleasure, whilst sorrow finds a sympathetic background in the subdued tones and melancholy face of nature. An invisible but potent connection

between man's mind and the external world has been established, based on the assumption that nature is neither inanimate nor unconcerned but that by conditioning man's mind it participates actively in determining his actions. A close study of this would seem to justify the assertion that the influence may be exerted in either direction, at times man being affected by his natural surroundings, at other times nature conforming to the mood of man. Of Ludwig Wandel as he journeys to visit a sick friend, Tieck writes:

> 'Er schritt aus seiner Schwermuth heraus, so wie er aus dem Schatten des Waldes trat: dennoft sind die Gemälde in uns nur Wiederscheine von den äussern Gegenständen.'[1]

This establishes the relationship of man to nature quite clearly. The dark and formidable wood reflects its sinister nature upon the mind of the wanderer and creates a mood of melancholy which disappears only when the reflection is removed.

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1) T.S. IV, 146.

In this way nature is able to influence the action by affecting the disposition of the participant and to subject him to a force which is constantly present. Nature, by virtue of the fact that it is universal and unavoidable, is therefore raised from the status of an accessory to a position of primary importance.

Just as Tieck's world is one in which every object is presented as animate and therefore of relevance, so also in this world every object has its means of communication, its own 'sound'. Nature is not merely visible, but audible. With that same synthetic sense of organic unity by which he perceived a form of life in a wall or chair, Tieck was conscious of the ability of these objects to convey something to him as if by speech,

> ' ... von Ruinen in fremder, schauerlicher, halbverständlicher Sprache angeredet zu werden.'[1]

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1) T.S. XVI, 327.

As a consequence his nature descriptions are as fully concerned with aural effect, for the discerning observer is able to interpret and understand what he hears. This produces what Dr. Thalmann calls the 'Musikalität des Daseins',[1] a phrase justified by the frequency with which Tieck himself likened the sonorous tones of nature to the music of an organ.[2] Again it is the artistic way in which Tieck applies this awareness of sound that so distinguishes him, for the music has also a romantic purpose to fulfil in its identification by the hero with the happiness of the distance, the 'Beyond', from whence it seems to come, and as if in response to the tones of some invisible Pied Piper he is continually encouraged and urged onward in his endless quest for peace of

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1) M. Thalmann, Ludwig Tieck, Der romantische Weltmann aus Berlin (Munich, n.d., Dalp Taschenbücher 318) p.77.

2) 'Hörst Du nicht die liebliche Orgel der Natur?' (T.S. XVI, 84). 'Wie lallend und kindisch sind Deine Töne gegen den vollen harmonischen Orgelgesang, der aus den innersten Tiefen, aus Berg und Thal und Wald und Stromesglanz in schwellenden, steigenden Akkorden herauf quillt.' (T.S. XVI, 274).

mind.

Mrs. Radcliffe had also striven to use the more conventional sounds of nature to strengthen her stories in this way, but as her primary object had been to create fear and suspense, her literary effects were from the first compromised by this purpose. Music or sounds of uncertain provenance were introduced by her merely to stimulate the reader's imagination and to add a further unknown quantity to the problem she had posed. When, for example, she finally explains that the sweet but mysterious singing which has been heard regularly at midnight for over eighteen years in the woods around the Marquis de Villeroi's castle and which has come to be associated by the local populace with the activities of some nocturnal spirit, has in fact been the warblings of the insane nun Agnes as she wandered through the countryside, not only is the reader disillusioned by so puerile a trick but he is virtually invited to meditate within his own mind upon the unlikeliness of so

absurd a possibility. With the Romanticists the mystery remains as such to the end for there are no easy answers to the problems of the tortured hero.

Much of the success of Mrs. Radcliffe's descriptions stems from her love of rich and varied colour, as in this passage from The Mysteries of Udolpho, where she portrays the country around the cottage to which Emily had been brought by sinister companions:[1]

> 'To the north and to the east the woody Appennines, rising in majestic amphitheatre, not black with pines, as she had been accustomed to see them, but their loftiest summits crowned with ancient forests of chestnut, oak, and oriental plane, now animated with the rich tints of autumn. Vineyards stretched along the feet of the mountains, where the elegant villas of the Tuscan nobility frequently adorned the scene, and overlooked slopes clothed with groves of olive, mulberry, orange, and lemon. The plain to which these declined, was coloured with the riches of cultivation, whose mingled hues were mellowed into harmony by an Italian sun. Vines,

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1) The Mysteries of Udolpho, B.N.L., I, 410.

> their purple clusters blushing between the russet foliage, hung in luxuriant festoons from the branches of standard fig and cherry trees, while pastures of verdure enriched the banks of a stream, that, after descending from the mountains, wound along the landscape, which it reflected, to a bay of the sea.'

Yet we may observe that the typical redness so beloved by the Romanticists is already found here also, necessitated by the preference for sunrise and sunset scenes already commented upon. On occasions she herself remarks upon this association of 'red' and 'romantic':[1]

> 'The fire, which heightened the romantic effect of the scenery, as it threw a red dusky gleam upon the rocks and foliage of the trees ...'

Tieck did this often in exactly the same way:

> 'Der Mond goss durch die rothen Vorhänge ein romantisches Licht um uns her, die Töne zerschmolzen im Zimmer in leisen Accenten.'[2]

It is indubitably true that Tieck first learnt to worship the goddess Eos through the mystic writings

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1) The Mysteries of Udolpho, B.N.L., X, 241.

2) T.S. VI, 94.

of Jakob Böhme, the only philosopher with whom he felt any affinity until he fell under the later influence of Solger, but particularly in scenes depicting the extremes of daylight, sunrise and sunset, many points of similarity with the style of Mrs. Radcliffe are recognisable. The factual, almost staccato sunset of The Romance of the Forest:

> 'The sun, sinking below the distant hills, spread a purple glow over the landscape, and touched the forest glades with softer light.'[1]

is virtually the same as the more expansive and delicate picture painted by Tieck:

> 'Im Sinken warf die Sonne plötzlich eine Purpurglut in den schwarzen Himmel über sich, ein rothes Feuer goss sich über die Weingebirge, Baum und Busch und Rebe funkelten im Brand, dahinter glänzten die Wälder.'[2]

In this same connection one further association must be indicated, namely the horrific recollection that red, in addition to its romantic connotation,

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1) The Romance of the Forest, B.N.L., X, 109.

2) T.S. XXVI, 105.

is also the colour of blood. This unexpected and dissonant simile which occurs more than once in Tieck is another of the many scattered clues as to his literary sources. In English Gothic literature only two similar passages have come to light, and both occur in Beckford's Vathek (1786), where the whole atmosphere of Eastern magic, superstition and sheer phantasy is so strong that the episodes do not in the least strike the reader as being out of keeping. While Vathek is out walking 'the clear blue sky appeared streaked over with streams of blood.'[1]

The second instance occurs somewhat later when the genie is sent to rescue Vathek from perdition. He assumes the form of a shepherd and plays on the lute, during which 'the waters of the two little lakes, that were naturally clearer than crystal, became of a colour like blood.'[2]

Interesting here is that it is water which is

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1) William Beckford, Vathek. An Arabian Tale. The edition used is that published by R. Bentley, London, 1836, p.18.

2) Ibid., p.84.

so affected, as in two of the examples taken from Tieck. As elsewhere in this section no direct borrowing is suggested, but the fact that this vivid image is found in Gothic authors is not without significance. Better known, certainly to Tieck, would be the exclamation of Guelfo in Klinger's Die Zwillinge as he looks through the window:

'Ha, die blutigen Strahlen durch die schwarze Nacht!'

In a situation not altogether dissimilar from that of Vathek, Abdallah is awakened by the sound of a waterfall:

> 'Vom Berge rann im Mondschein der Strom wie schäumendes Blut hinunter.'[1]

Here the intention is purely horrific, unlike a similar occurrence in Der Aufruhr in den Cevennen, which is clearly meant to be interpreted symbolically. The passage follows directly upon a description of a colourful sunset, and the redness reflected in the waterfall is naturally attributable to the rays of

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1) T.S. VIII, 88.

the sun, but to this a deeper meaning is added:

> 'Wie Blut sprang der Wasserfall vom steilen Felsen links, und der ganze Saal, die Tafel und die Gäste, war alles wie in Blut getaucht, so dass in diesem Moment die Lichter nur dunkel brannten und das Feuer im Kamin blÄulich flackerte.'[1]

(Note also that the trivial device of the lamp or fire suddenly burning blue is present in this same sentence. Cf. Chapter III, page 140, note 1).

In this case the phenomenon is interpreted by those present as a Divine warning that the whole country must be plunged into war and bloodshed before their civil and religious differences can be settled. This most successful and artistic episode is a particularly good example of the manner in which Tieck was able to refine and make use of the literary clichées of the 'roman noir'. It is therefore the more regrettable that he continued with other obvious and solely sensational similes, such as red wine which becomes like blood

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1) T.S. XXVI, 105.

to the drinker,[1] a hackneyed device lifted straight from the trivial novel.

The discussion to this point has been restricted to a study of Tieck's treatment of nature in relation:ship to the attitude of the Gothicists, and there seems sufficient evidence to justify the conclusion that the romantic literature of Tieck to a large extent took its inspiration from its less reputable predecessors. Indeed the very epithet 'romantic' as applied to nature is used with much the same meaning by each in the passages already outlined. It must therefore be stressed, in the interests of perspective and balance, that in the history of German Romanticism Tieck's position is unique in that he adds to the commonly-inherited stock elements which are entirely original and can be

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1) This is found, for instance, in Der Junge Tischlermeister (p.51): 'Ich glaubte, dunkles Blut hinunter zu trinken.' In Pietro von Abano (p.313): 'Die Alte leerte ein Glas rothen Wein, der wie Blut im Glase stand.'

seen to derive immediately from his works. The two most important of these contributions, 'Waldeinsamkeit' and 'mondbeglänzte Zaubernacht', have become almost proverbial in histories of German Literature, and strangely enough, both find their first expression in poetic form, surely the only of Tieck's verses still to be read. In his later Novelle Waldeinsamkeit, Tieck recalls with obvious relish how, when first he introduced the word in Der Blonde Eckbert, his friend Wackenroder had objected that it was both meaningless and ungrammatical, the more correct form being 'Waldeseinsamkeit'. The term, generally rendered into English by the inadequate and alliterative 'sylvan solitude', is not easily definable beyond the fact that it contains in a single word, so far as that is possible, the whole substance of Tieck's philosophy of nature. The wood, as the scene of those events already spoken of, and man, alone and therefore thrown upon his own resources, are brought into a close and irresoluble conflict between the intellectual and the spiritual, that is the human,

on the one hand, and the demonic and material, that is the natural, on the other.

Minder has spoken of the 'paysage tieckien'[1] which is unique in its constituent parts and in its atmosphere from that of any other German Romanticist, the vital components being, 'Forêt, solitude, nuit, lune, magie: voilà en effet les éléments de l'univers tieckien.'

It is in the poetic and artistic manipulation of these delicate but romantic themes that Tieck casts his spell, not to produce merely luscious, diffusive descriptions in the manner so beloved by the female novelists,[2] but to seek in nature the link that connects the Human and the Immortal, the Ephemeral and the Eternal.

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1) R.H. Minder, op. cit., p.241.

2) It was H.C. Robinson who said on reading Mrs. Coleridge's Phantasmion that it reminded him of Mrs. Radcliffe's romances, 'but a thick volume of such luscious description surfeits as a bellyfull of macaroons would.' H.C. Robinson, op. cit., p.538.

B. The Supernatural.

The key to the Gothic novel, it has previously been asserted, is suspense, a tension created by an encounter between hostile forces, the struggle of rational and mortal man for supremacy against circumstances and situations which seem beyond explanation in natural terms. In the novels of such Gothic writers as Horace Walpole and Matthew Lewis these situations are effected by the intro: duction of genuinely supernatural phenomena, not always with great artistic success, but at least with sufficient sincerity on the author's part for him to stake the merit of his book on the achievement of a convincing representation. One would not wish to dispute the admissibility of the otherworldly into imaginative fiction-writing, but it is equally plain that such works demand from their creators a rare degree of literary sensitivity and an instinctive feeling for the bounds of artistic good taste. The rewards are proportionately high. Not the least of

Shakespeare's dramatic accomplishments was the ability to employ ghosts on-stage in the deepest tragedy without destroying either the play's aesthetic unity or the audience's illusion. But so rare is this ability that most English novelists engaged in this kind of writing have voluntarily evacuated the regions of supernatural activity and transmigrated to a more easily defensible position 'within the utmost verge of probability.'[1] Not that this relegates the supernatural as a motif to a secondary rôle, rather it entails a different approach. From now on the occurrences which were formerly unequivocally attributed to the miraculous still take place, only to be rationally explained in the final stages of the story. It may therefore truly be said of Mrs. Radcliffe that although there is literally no supernatural content in her novels yet the supernatural still plays a considerable part. Even where she fails

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1) Preface to The Old English Baron, B.N.L. V, p.

to provide a solution to a particular event[1] this is due either to forgetfulness or to the fact that she is unequal to some of her own problems. But on most occasions, by introducing facts previously concealed from the reader or simply by indulging in contortions of phantasy, she resolves the contradictions. Thus in The Mysteries of Udolpho, when the fearsome Montoni offers to relate 'some singular and mysterious circumstances' concerning the acquisition of Udolpho, an unknown and invisible voice is heard to say, 'Repeat them!'[2] Later, when the voice again interrupts, the reader is left with the impression that some ghostly shade is secreted within the ancient walls, merely to be disillusioned by Du Pont's confession that he had been responsible for this piece of remarkable ventriloquy. Or again, 'Montoni was lifting his

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1) Sir Walter Scott (B.N.L., X, xiii-xiv) lists some of the points in The Italian which are left unresolved.

2) The Mysteries of Udolpho, B.N.L., X, 354 and 401. The explanation is found on page 430-1.

goblet to his lips to drink this toast, when suddenly the wine hissed, rose to the brim, and, as he held the glass from him, burst into a thousand pieces.'[1] This time the explanation, 'that sort of Venice glass had the quality of breaking upon receiving poisoned liquor', is possibly less satisfactory than the effect of the actual mystery. On one other occasion, when strange sparks have been seen to fly from the tips of the soldiers' lances, the reader is after a while referred to a text-book of electricity for the explanation.[2] Explicit belief in preternatural events was restricted to the illiterate servants, from Matilda's reproach to Bianca, 'You resolve everything into magic',[3] to more dogmatic statements such as, 'the marvellous is the delight of the vulgar,'[4] and, 'Stories of ghosts and hobgoblins

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1) B.N.L., X, 364.
2) Ibid., 406.
3) The Castle of Otranto (London, 1836) p.215.
4) B.N.L., X, 104.

have always been admired and cherished by the vulgar.'[1]

Tieck's interest in the hyper-physical extended throughout his entire adult life-time, and his youthful occupation with the horrific novel resulted, in his earliest works, in a colourless imitation of the supernatural techniques of these models. This influence is immediately obvious in Abdallah, in William Lovell as in Karl von Berneck, in all of which Tieck puts into practice a precept elaborated in his essay, Über das Erhabene:[2]

> 'Eine Menge klarer Gefühle ist das Wesen des Schönen, viele dunkle Gefühle der Character des Schrecklichen und Gedanken das Zeichen des Erhabenen.'

This describes precisely the feeling which communicates itself to the reader of Abdallah, an accumulation of mental tortures, ghastly visions

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1) B.N.L., X, p.115. The talkative and superstitious servants in Tieck's early unpublished plays, generally given dialect parts, are very similar to these servants of Mrs. Radcliffe.

2) Published by E.N. Zeydel in PMLA. L, No. 2, 1935, the essay was composed in 1792. The underlinings occur in the original manuscript.

and nightmares of unbroken horrific intent, in which every available means of suggestion and connotation is applied to deepen the mood. The monstrous, supranatural figures of Mondal and Omar are descendants not of any Shakespearian progenitor but simply more imaginative versions of the grotesque apparitions so beloved of the scribblers. It was only after a close study of the works of Shakespeare that Tieck began to formulate his own supernatural method, based on the observation that the necessary illusion must be created before the action involving the marvellous ever begins. In this way there is no abrupt hiatus between mortal and supramortal, the boundary between the two is not even distinguishable and the reader's tendency to rationalise is overcome before it can begin to operate. This theory is expostulated in the Shakespeare commentary[1] where Tieck says:

> 'Ohne Illusion ist kein Vergnügen bei einem dramatischen Kunstwerk möglich.

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1) Ludwig Tieck, Das Buch über Shakespeare, ed. H. Lüdeke (Halle, 1920) p.132.

> Denn eben darin besteht der Probirstein des echten Genies, dass er für jede verwegene Fiktion, für jede ungewöhnliche Vorstellungsart schon im voraus die Täuschung des Zuschauers zu gewinnen weiss.'

This statement, made in reference to the plays of Shakespeare, nevertheless discloses the approach adopted by Tieck himself in his realisation that the essential prerequisite is to subdue the will of the reader. Railo's much more recent analysis of the successful use of the supernatural in English literature, expresses much the same sentiments and gives strong support to the conjecture here offered in explanation of Tieck's remarkable accomplishments as a writer of 'Märchen':[1]

> 'My own view is that the supernatural is a perfectly legitimate subject for imaginative works of art, with the proviso, however, that by his power of suggestion, the author succeeds in subjecting the reader's imagination to his own, in other words, succeeds in lulling the reader's logical faculties and hypnotizing him into the charmed circle of the writer's own imagination.'

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1) E. Railo, op. cit., p.71.

For Tieck the fact of his genuine acceptance of the existence of phenomena classifiable as super: :natural contributed also to a convincing portrayal, since the principle of universal demonism which represented every object as 'possessed', was eminently suited to the building up of the necessary illusion. Once that is established, we have reached not only an understanding of one of his literary procedures but also the crux of his philosophy of the supernatural. This consists in replacing the subjective distinction between real and marvellous with the belief that the two differ only in the degree of frequency, that any event normally accepted as supernatural would with constant repetition come to be regarded as everyday, and an equal belief in the converse, that most things which we consider everyday are in fact miracles stripped of their deeper mystery by their recurrence. This runs completely contrary to the objectives of Mrs. Radcliffe, whose rejection of a 'higher order'

serves to lay stress on this material world of reality as the only true one, a strong differentiation being drawn between the religious and the superstitious with which the supernatural is equated. Tieck's romantic demonism is rather aimed at establishing through the medium of the empiric natural world the existence of a preternatural system. To the man who is conscious of the presence of this force in his daily surroundings its appearance in less usual forms will not entail any loss of logical sequence. Whereas this theme runs through the whole of Tieck's mature work,[1] it is found in only one isolated, perhaps even accidental, instance in Mrs. Radcliffe, an instance worth quoting as a pointer on the road which leads from the Gothicists to the Romanticists. It occurs in The Romance of the Forest as Adeline is held in the grip of her imagination as she reads the manuscript

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1) This idea is specifically mentioned in T.S. IV, 96; VIII, 278; XI, 137; XIV, 146; XVI, 139; XXIV, 102, 106; XXII, 332; XX, 203.

found in the vaults of the ruined abbey:[1]

> 'There was a glass before her upon the table, and she feared to raise her looks towards it, lest some other face than her own should meet her eyes.'

It does not require great literary acumen to proceed from this to the words of William Lovell, where the object involved is no longer material but insubstantial, yet the fear inspired is virtually the same:[2]

> 'Wer kann wissen, was ein Schatten ist und was er zu bedeuten hat.'

August Wilhelm Schlegel took delight in the fact that he had recognised the talent of Tieck in works published anonymously, before the writer had acquired any reputation whatsoever, and in an early review of Ritter Blaubart 'von Peter Lebrecht'[3] it is this very fusion of natural and supernatural in Tieck

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1) B.N.L., X, 129.

2) T.S. VII, 230.

3) The review, which first appeared in the Jenaische Allgemeine Literaturzeitung of 1797, is reprinted in A.W. Schlegel: Sämmtliche Werke, ed. E. Böcking (Leipzig, 1847), XI, 136.

which he selected as the feature most indicative of this story's superiority over the conventional novels of the time:

> 'Der Verfasser ist ein wahrer Gegenfüssler unsrer gewappneten ritterlichen Schriftsteller: da diese nur darauf arbeiten, das Gemeinste, Abgedroschenste als höchst abenteuerlich, ja unnatürlich vorzustellen, so hat er sich dagegen bemüht, das Wunderbare so natürlich und schlicht als möglich, gleichsam im Nachtkleide, erscheinen zu lassen. Wie leicht wären hier ein Burgverliess nebst den beweglichsten Ausrufungen, ein geheimer Orden von Blaubärten, Geister u. dgl. m. anzubringen gewesen. Aber nichts von dem allen!'

Tieck never makes it clear, as Professor Tymms has pointed out,[1] whether the hallucination seen is a subjective phenomenon in the mind of the beholder, or whether it is meant to be generally perceptible. But the fundamental issue is that for the victim of the apparition it is a reality in the same sense as any other object; if what he sees at this moment is not real, then for him there can be no reality -

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1) R. Tymms, op. cit., p.59.

in other words, the natural and the marvellous fall together, for they are one and the same. From earliest childhood we accept without question the facts of creation, birth and death, the tenets of a Christian faith embracing resurrection and a world beyond, the wonders of nature and countless similar mysteries which make a fairy-tale of life itself and defy all attempts to reduce the universe to a material automaton. On this argument Tieck bases the incoherent world of his 'Märchen' where it is equally vain to enquire after the 'whence' and the 'whither'. Not that the results of this method are by any means uniformly successful. The tales of the Phantasus are still celebrated as Tieck's most satisfactory prose compositions because there the realms of the marvellous and the everyday are literally indistinguishable, but often the achievement was far inferior to the intention. Most noticeably in the analysis of the psychological impact of the supernatural on man's mind, Tieck

found himself unable to go much beyond Mrs. Radcliffe in her somewhat automatic registration of certain emotions to suit certain situations. Many feelings may be contained in a single facial expression when the writer is unable to present a character's reactions in any other way:

> 'A mingled emotion of gratitude, affection and grief..'
>
> 'A mixed emotion of disgust and indignation..'
>
> 'A mingled sensation of esteem, tenderness and anxiety..'
>
> 'The smile of Blanche was frank and gay, that of Emily tender and pensive: Valancourt's was rapturous, tender and gay, alternately: Monsieur St.Foix's was joyous: and that of Count .. expressed the tempered complacency of benevolence.'[1]

One may find it difficult to visualise a face registering rapture, tenderness and gaiety alternately like some emotional traffic-light and surely few people, Mona Lisa excepted, could assume an expression

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1) The Mysteries of Udolpho, B.N.L., X, 232, 233, 275 and 526 respectively.

immediately recognisable as the tempered complacency of benevolence. Yet in the atmosphere of the rather ingenuous stories of Ann Radcliffe these weaknesses, while striking, are hardly fatal. It is all the more surprising therefore to find Tieck having recourse to a mannerism so primitive in conception that it cannot fail to be otherwise in execution. To what literary purpose the careful cultivation of a mental illusion so complete that it enfolds characters and readers alike, only for the moment of impact to be thrown away in indecent haste with some meaningless observation of this kind? In each of the following phrases we see evidence of Tieck's too great reliance upon the everyday idiom, the divergence of emotions indicated merely by an accumu:lation of adjectives to the total neglect of the psychological:

> 'Emilie stand verwirrt, erfreut und betrübt zugleich..'
>
> 'Dieser Ausdruck von Gutmüthigkeit und Adel in der Vermischung mit Melancholie und Beschränktheit..'

> '.. einem sonderbaren Blick, in welchem man vielleicht Zärtlichkeit, eine süsse Betäubung, unbewussten Unwillen und forschende Neugier lesen möchte.' [1]

Attention has been drawn to this characteristic as a further indication of the influence which Tieck's early reading still held over him even when engaged in a field of writing where his originality is undisputed. To this may be added the retention in early compositions of certain other traditions and superstitions of similar literary origin, not necessarily detrimental to the works in question, such as the general association of magic with midnight, the more specific significance of 'Johannisnacht' for activities of a supernatural order, the superstitious recurrence of the number 'three', the absolute inviolability of an oath once made and the family curse which can only be removed by the fulfilment of some seemingly impossible condition. But these inheritances were secondary and eventually disappeared almost completely, for the grappling with

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1) T.S. VI, 114; XXV, 289; XXII, 274 respectively.

the demonic in Tieck's writing was the extension of his struggles with it in real life. In this sense it was a reflection of personal experience, an adult continuation of those youthful attempts to probe the mystery of existence by means of long vigils in dark churchyards. It is, so to speak, the search for knowledge and the search for truth, for what is more inevitable than that a belief in immortality should produce a desire to anticipate its secret, if necessary by 'obstinate questionings with the sepulchre.' For the romantic man this is the whole substance of life, the endless quest made possible and sustained by endless hope. And the rest will be revealed in death.

> 'Viele suchen schon gar nicht mehr, und diese sind die Unglücklichsten, denn sie haben die Kunst zu leben verlernt, da das Leben nur darin besteht, immer wieder zu hoffen, immer zu suchen; der Augenblick, wenn wir dies aufgeben, sollte der Augenblick unsers Todes seyn.'[1]

As a complement to the analysis of Tieck's

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1) T.S. XVI, 74.

romantic treatment of nature and the supernatural, it will be appropriate at this stage to call attention to two further themes which constantly recur in his works, one at least of which, the fascination of decay, was strongly represented in the Gothic literature prior to its continuation by the Romanticists. The second of these themes, the nostalgic recollection of childhood as the only period of genuine earthly happiness, characterised as it is by a special form of human longing, was of particular attraction to the Romantic mind but for the same reasons less favoured by the essentially active horror writers. Its discussion here is justified by the belief that it is in Tieck's writing not merely a favourite subject, but one which sheds much light on the degree of relationship between the man and his art. To this will be added an examination of a third, less wholesome topic, the importance and significance of incest as a literary theme, an examination necessitated both by the Gothicists' interest in this subject and by recent

investigation of its rôle in Tieck's private life.

1. Decay.

The novelists of the Gothic school and, more particularly, of the German terror-school, were by no means selective in the methods they adopted to achieve their effects. The comparative inventiveness of the first of these writers provided sufficient purely physical thrills and adventures without it being necessary to stimulate the reader's fancy with sordid details and descriptions. The part played by Lewis in adding terror to suspense has already been touched upon[1] and the conscious cultivation of the macabre is one of the means by which he pursues this end. Sordid and revolting details become one of the novel's staple constituents, assisted by the preference for dark galleries, subterranean dungeons and ruined buildings which had always been conspicuous. The original purpose of these had been merely to provide a background

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1) See page 9ff.

advantageous to the atmosphere of suspense, but now these hidden recesses are made to fulfil the new function of harbouring either the remains of some long-forgotten corpse or prisoners of a ruthless tyrant. Most typical is the underground prison of Agnes in The Monk:[1]

> 'The cold vapours hovering in the air, the walls green with damp, the bed of straw so forlorn and comfortless, the chain destined to bind me for ever to my prison, and the reptiles of every description, which, as the torches advanced towards them, I descried hurrying to their retreats, struck my heart with terrors almost to exquisite for nature to bear.'

This theme was gladly taken up by the army of 'terrorists' who vied with each other in the employment of words of macabre connotation, with no thought other than that of the effect on the reader. The following lines are well-known:

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1) M.G. Lewis, The Monk (London, 1906) III, 162. The same kind of prison scene is used by Tieck in Der Hexen-Sabbath, 334-5, where the old woman Gertrud has been arrested for witchcraft: 'Sie ist im Gefängnis, unterirdisch verschlossen, mit Ketten und Eisen belegt, an die Wand geheftet, denn man hat Furcht...' A further parallel between The Monk and this Novelle of Tieck will be pointed out in the section on incest.

'No flesh had the spectre, his skeleton skull
Was loosely wrapped round with a brown
shrivelled skin;
His bones, 'stead of marrow, of maggots were full,
And the worms they crawled out, and the worms
they crawled in.
His shoes they were coffins, his dim eye revealed
The gleam of a grave-lamp with vapours oppressed:
And a dark crimson necklace of blood drops
congealed,
Reflected each bone that jagged out of his breast.'[1]

These lines expressed in verse form what was to be subjected to long and hideous prose description by writers of little ability and even less discrimination. Here is no contemplation of the mystery of death, no healthy curiosity for the unknown beyond, no thought of immortality, but instead a wallowing in the omnipotence of death and the certainty of destruction, insatiable lust for the process of decay and decomposition, total neglect of values other than the material. It is surprising that Varma indicates a line of direct influence from this literature to that of the Romanticists when

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1) From 'Grim, King of the Ghosts: or The Dance of Death. A Churchyard Tale. Tales of Terror (London, 1887) p.56.

he says:[1]

> 'The unpleasant and diseased realism of the Schauer-Romantiks, their veritable mania for worms and reptiles, the element of the gory, which had quickened the appetite of jaded sensation eventually inspired the pathologic and ghastly in Romantic poetry.'

One may be allowed to doubt whether this is true in such general terms as here stated, for the ghastly in Romantic poetry was of an entirely different order, being incidental to the discussion of larger problems and in no sense introduced for its sensation value. The vice of the 'Schauer-Romantiks' was that they provided a too accessible means of expression which the Romanticists in turn adopted, but one must guard against identifying the thoughts of the Romanticists, even when dressed in the language of the horror-writers, with the thoughts of this latter group. To the influence of this gruesome literature on Tieck's early works and particularly on his vocabulary, reference has

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1) D.P. Varma, op. cit., 190.

already been made, but it must be remembered that the choice of words of horrific association and the love of compounding these words to produce even stronger forms was to a great extent unconscious. Indeed it has been noticed how this exaggerated terminology was still applied in situations where its very severity made it incongruous in the context.

What we have here to consider is Tieck's conscious and intellectual interest in death and its inevitable concomitant, decay, facts of apparent unpleasantness rendered supremely romantic by their mystery and by their identification with the distant regions beyond, where alone happiness is to be found. Death is therefore regarded not negatively, as the end, but positively, as a transition.

English literature of the mid-eighteenth century had been considerably influenced by a group of poets whose intense occupation with the problem of death

earned their work the sombre designation 'graveyard poetry'. The best-known of these compositions are Parnell's Night Piece on Death (1722), Young's celebrated The Complaint, or Night Thoughts on Life, Death and Immortality (1742), Blair's The Grave (1748) and Gray's Elegy (1751). In the prevailing atmosphere of unrest and experiment which gave rise to the novel of suspense, it was hardly surprising that, where fear and superstition played so important a part, an echo from the graveyard poets should be heard. The transience of man, the ravages of time, the recollection of past generations are all touched upon by Mrs. Radcliffe in her moments of repose, the thought being most often aroused by the sight of ruins. But as in all aspects of her stories not directly concerned with the action, there is here no constructive philosophy, nothing deeper than the bald statement, as when La Motte wanders among the ruins of the abbey:[1]

> 'The comparison between himself and the gradation of decay which these columns

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1) The Romance of the Forest, E.N.L., X, 83.

> exhibited, was but too obvious and affecting. A few years, said he, and I shall become like the mortals on whose reliques I now gaze, and, like them too, I may be the subject of meditation to a succeeding generation, which shall totter but a little while over the object they contemplate, ere they also sink into the dust.'

For the romantic Tieck, death and decay fall into neither the Radcliffe-category of prosy moralising nor the Lewis-category where the single words are of greater importance than their collective meaning. Tieck is interested in death as the antithesis to birth, the point up to which existence may in a sense be followed and understood; but it is not the end of existence nor even an element inimical to life. Rather it is a part of life, not merely inevitable but necessary. There is scarcely any attempt to answer questions, for that is not the nature of the Romantic mind - more fundamental is the continual awareness of the problem and the willingness to <u>ask</u> the questions. The only positive statements he makes are reiterations of the 'Sturm und Drang'

belief that life is misery and death is the opposite of life, that death must therefore surely be a period of happiness:[1]

> 'Ein herrlicher Gedanke durchzittert mich - nicht mehr zu sein!'

At no point does he seek to justify this belief in the bliss of death for to him the proof is contained in the longing itself. The existence of the longing requires the existence of its satisfaction in death, an argument which he similarly applied to man's belief in immortality with more cogency than anything he found in theology:[2]

> 'Das Bewusstsein unserer Seele und der tiefe innige Wunsch nach Unsterblichkeit, das Gefühl, das uns in ferne unbekannte Regionen herüberdrängt, so dass wir

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1) Klinger, Die Zwillinge in Klingers Ausgewählte Werke (Stuttgart, 1878) I, 45. Comparable sentiments occur in Tieck's Aufruhr in den Cevennen, 127: 'Sind Sie von mir gekränkt? ich weiss mich nichts schuldig; wodurch im Namen aller Heiligen? - Dass Sie ein Mensch sind! sagt Christine.' In Der Hexen-Sabbath, 241: 'In jener Stimmung, in welche ich damals gerathen war, erschien mir nichts so fürchterlich, als zu leben, da zu seyn..' Pietro von Abano, 306: 'O Tod, O Ruhe, O Nichtsein, komm zu mir, lass Dich umarmen, und löse dieses stürmende Herz.'

2) T.S. VI, 286.

> uns eine Nichtexistenz gar nicht denken können, diese Gefühle sprechen am lautesten und innigsten für das Dasein der Seele und für ihre Fortdauer.'

More normally the idea is broken off before it reaches this positive conclusion, in just the same way as the initial thought of death immediately gives way to thoughts of decay. In its turn this is then compared with the living form to confirm the impermanence of beauty whether in man or in nature. This comparison covers both possible directions, firstly the living creature of the past, of whom little or nothing remains, and then the creatures and men alive at present who will likewise suffer the fate of their forbears. In this process he distinguishes nature as the only form of continuity, using the old to create new beauties which in sequence must decay and be replaced. Nature herself is therefore no more than a 'verkleidete Verwesung'[1] and her most glorious colours, the trees, the birds and, most emphatically

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1) T.S. VI, 146.

of all, the flowers are in these moods to be viewed with horror. To him who listens and understands, the message of nature is a reminder that beauty, whatever its form, will quickly degenerate into a state of ugliness in which all former distinctions will be levelled out by obliteration. This may well be the main theme of William Lovell, that after life there follows at least a certain equality in death; thus far Tieck's youthful reflection brought him and at no time was he prepared to go any further.

Another favourite metaphor of the anguished Romanticist is that of the world as a prison where man is held until his release by death. The mind of the romantic hero was impressed by ideals of a noble and lofty character, his horizons were wide beyond definition, his determination was to delve as deeply as possible into the mysteries of the universe with the ambition 'to know everything; even sciences that did not exist.'[1] In this aim he was frustrated

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1) Vathek, p.3.

by the limitations of mortality and the weaknesses of the flesh which, in deepening the awareness of his own impotence, reduced him to the state of melancholy typical of the Romantic figure. Very often this feeling of helplessness was expressed in terms of man's prison-like confinement, a theme which he combined with the familiar device from the trivial novel that a room may suddenly appear to grow smaller as the trapped or despondent character's fear grows stronger. Here again Tieck expands the application of the device for it is no longer a mere visual image but the formulation of one aspect of romantic agony. Thus the 'prison' may be a building, like the castle of Berneck:

> 'Ist mir doch, als wenn die Wände zusammenrücken wollten, um mich zu erdrücken.'1

It may be a large city:

> '.. in ganz Paris hat man das Gefühl eines Gefängnisses. Hier bin ich

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1) T.S. XI, 45.

verlassen in Felsenmauern eingekerkert.'[1]

Or again, a whole country:

> 'Ganz Italien kommt mir wie ein Kerker vor, in welchem mich ein böser Dämon gefangen hält.'[2]

In its most advanced form it embraces the world itself:

> 'Ist die Welt nicht ein grosses Gefängnis, in dem wir alle wie elende Missethäter sitzen, und ängstlich auf unser Todesurtheil warten.'[3]

This may best be resolved as a further romantic antithesis, the incompatability of man's breadth of vision with the narrowness of his environment. In this state he looks back to the only period of true earthly happiness, the innocence of childhood.

2. Childhood.

In Minder's estimation[4] childhood experiences are the foundation on which all Tieck's work is built and it is here that he finds the origins of the

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1) T.S. VI, 47, 49.
2) Ibid., 186.
3) T.S. VIII, 22
4) Minder, op. cit., p.93.

triple impulse of 'paradis, chaos, jeu' which he considers to be the constant and unifying factor in Tieck. The recollections of idyllic childhood enjoyed by so many of his heroes often reveal considerable unanimity with episodes from his own childhood and endow his writing with a certain autobiographical quality.[1] In particular the many hours spent listening to the fairy-tales told by his mother seem to have left a lasting impression upon him, a striking example being the similarities

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1) The autobiographical content of Tieck's works is by no means limited to the recollections of childhood; Abendgespräche, Waldeinsamkeit, Der Hexen-Sabbath and Der Junge Tischlermeister certainly recall incidents re-told from his own experience. Nor is he hesitant to talk of himself and his works in his Novellen: in Die Vogelscheuche he speaks of 'einem Werke meines Freundes Tieck, die Sommerreise betitelt', in Prinz Zerbino he refers to Franz Sternbald, in Wald einsamkeit to Der Blonde Eckbert and in Das Alte Buch he tells anonymously how he was given the gift of poetry by Oberon before writing 'den Sternbald, die Genoveva und den Octavian.' In this same work occurs the following passage: 'Und wären Hoffmann, Fouque und Aehnliche da, ohne den gestiefelten Kater, Zerbino, getreuen Eckart, blonden Eckbert, die verkehrte Welt und andere frühere Anklänge, die in die Weite, oft unbegriffen, hineintönten, und erst in nachahmender Übertreibung von den Zeitgenossen verstanden und beantwortet wurden?'

between her account of a mysterious old woman she had known as a girl in her home village and Tieck's Novelle Der Blonde Eckbert in which such a figure appears.[1] Indicative also of this influence are the many occasions on which his characters likewise recall stories and adventures heard in childhood.[2]

This recollection, however, is in its most general form not linked with particular occasions, rather it is regarded in retrospect as a state of happiness no longer attainable. This may be demonstrated by the following passage where William Lovell's present prison-like existence is brightened not by the thought of some specific incident but by the broad fact of childhood contentment:

> 'Das wunderbare Morgenroth strömt eine Erinnerung der frühesten Kindheit herauf und fällt in unser Leben und unsere gewöhnlichen Empfindungen hinein, wie wenn ein rother Strahl

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1) Köpke, I, 13 tells of this story Tieck heard from his mother. Note also the name of the dog Stramch, which plays an important part in Der Blonde Eckbert under the name Strohmian.

2) Such passages occur in T.S. VI, 190, 265; XXV, 117; XIV, 146.

> an den eisernen Stäben eines Kerkers zittert, in dem ein Gefangener nach Freiheit seufzt.'[1]

The attraction of childhood lay in its unawareness of the frustrations of a world in which 'Dasein' and 'Qual' were synonymous, for the irrational approach of the child to the problem of good and evil represented the ideal standpoint for a man such as Tieck whose rejection of rationalism precluded a resolution of the problem by the application of reason. His refuge in childhood has therefore the same motivation as his preference for the fairy-tale as a means of expression, both are exempt from the exigencies of reason and in both the element of imagination is supreme. This is only slightly different from the Rousseauistic sentiment that only where man has grown up outside the sphere of influence of civilisation can he be truly happy, for there he is exempt from the demands of conventional society and consequently able to

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1) T.S. VII, 17.

preserve his nobler instincts and the natural assets of freedom, innocence and virtue. Tieck applied this idea to his idealistic rural communities where humanity and content were found side by side.

Very little of this, if any at all, may be termed original , for it had become so fundamental to the spirit of the time that it was expressed in various forms in all branches of literature. To Tieck's own study of Rousseau came the works of the 'Sturm und Drang' period, 'eine bedeutende, ja grosse Zeit'[1], which for a time held his

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1) Köpke, II, 196. The joys of childhood are praised, for instance, by Lord Berkley in Klinger's Sturm und Drang: 'So ganz zum Kind zu werden! Alles golden, alles herrlich und gut! Glückliche Augenblicke der Kindheit, die ihr rückkehrt!' Tieck's relationship to the 'Sturm und Drang' writers remains still a largely unexplored region. One may notice in this respect that the phrase which occurs in the scene from Tieck's unpublished drama Die Nebenbuhler given in the Appendix - 'nun will ich über Euch und Euch alle in tausend kreutzmillionen Stücken zerhauen' - is directly borrowed from Leng' Die Soldaten, where we find: 'Ich will euch in Kreuz Millionen Stücken zerhauen alle miteinander.'

enthusiastic attention and has left its mark most noticeably on his youthful dramas.

The delight in childhood is therefore more a romantic symbol than a literal recollection of past events, an object worthy of longing because it is the only state in which man has lived without the conscious torment of life's unsatisfactoriness, and also because it is no longer attainable. If the yearning for the past of childhood may be called a 'backward' longing, we may best envisage it as that which lies behind, the distant hills already passed and now receding into the background of obscurity, just as the forward longing is symbolised by the approaching hills and the mysterious secrets of the beyond. Any interpretation of childhood in the literal sense would have otherwise to be of very narrow definition, as is evinced by the foregoing discussion of Tieck's boyhood adventures in practical demonism. From the very early attraction of exciting and ghostly stories, through the period of his attempts to conjure up

spirits from another world and on into the period of his first creative work - and even yet he was still a schoolboy - the bliss of childhood innocence was past for Tieck whose immature mind was already obsessed with the contradictions of reality. No more reasonably can a reference to the domestic felicity of his childhood be inferred since these are not the positive virtues he attached to the recollection, just as any personal relationship of this kind would almost certainly have been explicitly stated if it were so intended. It is precisely the vagueness of the longing which stamps it as romantic. More concrete reminiscences lack this quality simply because they are attached to a specific person or place and as a consequence hover close to the province of sentimentality. In Tieck, as in Mrs. Radcliffe, nothing brings tears to the eyes more quickly than the sight of an object dear to a departed relative or the bower where estranged lovers formerly swore their eternal

fidelity. Such a reaction is natural and may often be convincing, but it is seldom poetic of itself, the understanding and description of the emotion determining the effect created. The poet is distinguished by his expression of those things which in most of us remain inarticulate. And in Tieck's perpetual striving to understand the true nature of man, childhood, the symbol of the 'whence', is a crucial factor.

3. Incest.

Some brief discussion of this unattractive subject cannot be omitted from a study of the literary relationships between the Gothic literature and the Romanticism of Tieck, especially since the publication in 1956 of Valentine C. Hubbs' article, 'Tieck, Eckbert und das kollektive Unbewusste.'[1] Here the author elucidates Jung's theory that the unconscious is

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1) PMLA, LXXI, Sept., 1956.

composed of two elements, the personal unconscious, consisting of the memories and impressions of the individual, and the 'collective' unconscious which is made up of the sum experience, knowledge and wisdom gained by succeeding generations of the whole race. This accumulative wisdom is stored in the collective unconscious as primordial images or archetypes which remain dormant just as long as the mental life of the individual continues to be normal. As the result of violent tensions on the conscious level, however, the images of this latent unconscious force may manifest themselves in the form of archetypes such as those found in the personifications of mythology. Hubbs' thesis is that in the life of Tieck incest was just such a fearful event, that the ensuing conflicts on the moral issues involved acted on this collective unconscious in the manner elaborated by Jung and called forth, in Tieck's case, the archetype of the mother, 'das unmittelbarste Urbild, der Mutterarchetypus.' With considerable skill this theory is then applied

to Der Blonde Eckbert and to Der Runenberg, each of which contains a female character identifiable as the representation of this archetype, the Isis of ancient Egyptian mythology:

> 'Da Tiecks Mutter ihm während seiner Kindheit Angstmärchen zu erzählen pflegte, belebte sie archetypische Angstbilder in der Seele des Kindes... Im Verlauf von Tiecks Leben wurde sein Verhältnis zu seiner Schwester problematisch, und er suchte Trost in seinem kollektiven Unbewussten, dessen Urbilder als Elemente in seinen schöpferischen Werken entstanden.'

The evidence adduced in proof of Tieck's illicit attachment to his sister Sophie, who was two years his junior, is three-fold: her jealousy towards all who stood close to him; the fact that in 1795, shortly after his return from the University, they left their parents' home to live together in a different part of Berlin; the recurrence of the incest-theme in his writings of this time. (Tieck and his sister lived together for under a year. Hubbs gives 1795-98 as the period when this theme is most evident in his work.)

Any attempt to reach positive conclusions about the personal association of the writer and his sister

after an interval of 160 years with little or no evidence other than an occasional vaguely suggestive remark from unreliable sources, is bound to end in supposition.[1] As for the removal of Sophie and Ludwig to a house of their own, Köpke[2] states (and there are no other documents on the subject) that it was because the home of the parents was neither adequate nor suitable as a meeting-place for the circle of artists and intellectuals which had grown up around Tieck and included Wackenroder, Bernhardi, Bing and Wessely as well as Friedrich, the youngest member of the Tieck family, who later

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1) Tieck's sister was certainly devoted to her talented brother and jealous of the attentions of others. There is nevertheless no evidence that this jealousy grew to the point of incest even on the part of Sophie, still less on that of Ludwig. Even if the psychologist feels justified in reaching this conclusion, the literary student may remain unconvinced. The uncorroborated evidence of Varnhagen von Ense, who was noted for his love of gossip and scandal, and 'suspected' an incestuous affair between Tieck and his sister, can hardly be acceptable as proof. Elsewhere, Zeydel has hinted at the possibility of homosexual relations between Tieck and Wackenroder on the basis of a single phrase in a particularly effusive letter.

2) Köpke, I, 197.

achieved success as a sculptor.

The rôle of incest in Tieck's own work, however, lends itself to more factual investigation which disproves convincingly the statement that it is restricted to one short period in his life. In addition to those works mentioned by Hubbs, namely Peter Lebrecht (1795), Der Blonde Eckbert (1796) and Franz Sternbalds Wanderungen (1798), the same relationship is touched upon in Der Hexen-Sabbath (1831) and Eigensinn und Laune (1835). At this point the parallel of Tieck's return to ghost-story writing suggests itself, for in the same decade as the incest theme suddenly re-emerged in the thirties, there appeared too Pietro von Abano ('the tour de force of an ageing virtuoso in the art of the Schauerromantik'[1]) and Die Klausenburg. Eine Gespenstergeschichte. It therefore seems clear that in these later works we are confronted by incest arbitrarily chosen as

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1) R. Tymms, op. cit., p.116.

a theme intended to add a definite 'twist' to the story, in both cases accompanied also by expressions of horror at the situation which has arisen:

> 'O Gott sei Dank, dass ich seine Leidenschaft zu meiner Tochter niemals befördert habe, und dass sie niemals seine vorgegebene Liebe erwidern konnte und wollte.'[1]

In this somewhat trivial Novelle with its complicated cross-patterns of recognition, its numerous seductions and its hideous ending, the incest content is purely theatrical, if not ridiculous. Hubbs makes no mention of this kind of application of the theme, yet it is in this dramatic function, such as in Eigensinn und Laune, that incest - void of any personal significance - is generally found in earlier literature. Leaving out of consideration the treatment of the subject in the literatures of ancient Greece and Rome, one may still find

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1) T.S. XXIV, 389.

sufficient reference to it in the English literature of the Elizabethan Age, a period on which Tieck was outstandingly erudite, to justify the assumption that his first interests in incest as a literary motif came directly from this source. The revival of enthusiasm for Elizabethan literature in England in the mid-eighteenth century, however, brought this theme again to the forefront in the works of the Gothic novelists, and one can scarcely doubt that from this source too his receptive mind was impressed by its possibilities. In the case of Horace Walpole, who played upon the incest-motif in The Castle of Otranto, it was preferred purely for its dramatic potentialities, a conviction which Walpole was to re-assert with his drama The Mysterious Mother, where the pathetic heroine, the Countess of Narbonne, becomes the mother of her son's child, a daughter who, unaware of the relationship, later falls in love with and marries her father:

> 'Lo, where this monster stands! thy mother! mistress! The mother of thy daughter, sister, wife![1]

The choice of so repulsive a plot has rightly consigned the play to the limbo of neglected literature, but any speculation as to the reason which prompted the author to favour the incest-theme has been made superfluous by his own postscript, in which he first points out the strict observance of the three unities within the play and then goes on to justify the action:

> 'I was desirous of striking a little out of the common road, and to introduce some novelty on our stage... I have chalked out some paths that may be happily improved by better poets and men of more genius than I possess.'[2]

More unexpected, perhaps, is that this dramatic experimentation should find a minor place in Mrs. Radcliffe's novels, for in both The Romance of the Forest (between Marquis de Montalt and Adeline) and

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1) The Works of Horace Walpole (London, 1798) I, 120

2) Ibid., 129.

The Italian (between Schedoni and Ellena) there are situations which border on the incestuous. Although the subject is here very subsidiary, it is indicative of the current fashion that even this virtuous, often prudish, authoress should find it not unreasonable to broach the theme.

The best-known and most successful example of all is Lewis' monk Ambrosio, who falls prey to his unbridled passions and both rapes and murders his sister Antonia. There is good reason to believe that Tieck knew all of the works here mentioned, and in Der Hexen-Sabbath there are circumstances very reminiscent of those in the novel of Lewis. Both have a sensual priest, here Dechant, and as in The Monk the person to whom this love is directed is finally revealed to be his sister, with the persecuted Gertrud corresponding to Elvira in Lewis' story. Nor can one overlook a distinct similarity in the endings of the stories. In The Monk Lucifer

appears to Ambrosio in his cell where he is awaiting death at the hands of the Inquisition, and tempts him, with the promise of escape, to submit to his power. Lucifer's fearsome figure is described in the following words:

> 'His blasted limbs still bore marks of the Almighty's thunder. A swarthy darkness spread itself over his gigantic form: his hands and feet were armed with long talons. Fury glared in his eyes, which might have struck the bravest heart with terror.'[1]

At the end of Tieck's work, a historical Novelle in which supernatural apparition plays no part, the Bishop, who claims to be able to recognise witchcraft from the victim's eyes, is anonymously summoned to keep an appointment, at which he finds himself confronted by a mysterious figure in a dark cloak. His challenge to this stranger receives this reply:

> 'Ich bin kein Mensch! rief der Fremde mit donnernder Stimme, und schlug den

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1) The Monk, p.192-3.

> Mantel vom Gesichte zurück, das schwarz, verzerrt und mit brennenden Augen den halbohnmächtigen Prälaten angrinste; der Satan bin ich, sagte die hohe Gestalt.'[1]

The fact that it is in reality Grunheim in disguise does not detract from the strong possibility that the idea, as also the darkness, the eyes and the formidable appearance, were taken directly from Lewis. The conjecture here offered would, if correct, explain a literary source for Tieck's introduction of incest to his work. And a close reading of Tieck's Novelle Glück giebt Verstand strengthens this hypothesis, for there the reader is introduced to Mohigast, the Minister's secretary, engaged in writing a horrific tragedy. The description of his visitation by the Muse contains Tieck's whole derision of the 'pot-boiler tragedians', but also provides a useful summary of the ingredients which go to make up the final product. The inclusion of 'Blutschande' in this

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1) T.S. XX, 430.

list corroborates what has already been said, that for Tieck the subject was all too familiar, and the writers who treated it thus lightly deserving of scorn:

> 'Wohlgast setzte sich nieder, rührte so viel Schicksal, Ahnungen, Brudermord, Blutschande mit sechs oder sieben längst verstorbenen Geistern zusammen, dass er schon in acht Tagen fertig war.'[1]

It may be overstating the case to describe the incest-motif as a 'convention of the Gothic Novel'[2], but to those writers searching for unlikely adventures which required confusing family histories, sudden recognitions and the unexpected discovery of noble lineage to add a modicum of reality to the final explanation of the action, this particular subject was of great attraction. At least one may safely assert that Tieck had ample literary precedence for employing it and the question whether personal tensions helped to

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1) T.S. XIX, 69. Note also that Hemmer's list of themes likewise includes 'Blutschande' (see p.20).

2) D.P. Varma, op. cit., 224.

promote this interest will be better left to the psychologists. Walpole presented the material as a challenge to other writers and consciously strove to add incest to the stock of dramatic situations; it may well be that to the pre-Romanticism of the Gothicists, and more so to the maturer Romanticism of Tieck, the topic was simply one of unknown potentiality being submitted to trial. This is the light in which Railo sees it[1] and it appears a fully adequate explanation:

> 'As the motive offers good opportunities of evoking that terror and suspense-filled atmosphere of mystery which is one of the chief aims of the terror-romanticist, it is to be expected that wherever literature turns into romantic channels, the subject of incest will sooner or later emerge.'

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1) E. Railo, op. cit., 271.

CHAPTER FIVE

'Abdallah', A Critical Examination

The foregoing discussion has been concerned principally with tracing the continuing presence of traditional and characteristic Gothic con: :stituents throughout the whole of Tieck's work. To bring this more sharply into focus the attempt will here be made, by means of a detailed analysis of one of Tieck's early compositions, Abdallah, eine Erzählung, to discover the process by which these Gothic elements were fused with other clearly discernible literary influences at a period when Tieck's writing was still markedly derivative.

Abdallah oder Das furchtbare Opfer was begun by Tieck in 1790 while still at school and is to be numbered among the projects originally stimulated by Bernhardi. Köpke[1] states that Tieck gave the

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1) Köpke, I, 112 f. Rambach's alleged reaction to Schmohl's effort was: 'Was wollen Tiecks Arbeiten im Vergleich mit denen von Schmohl sagen! Gegen die kommen sie gar nicht auf.'

first chapters to his schoolmate Schmohl, who enhanced his literary stock greatly by promptly handing them in as his own work. The story remained in this rough form until Tieck returned to it in 1792 in the atmosphere of depression and pessimism which surrounded him while studying at the University of Halle. In this revision both form and intention were re-modelled, the work completed shortly before Christmas and therewith the first uneasy, gloomy phase of Tieck's literary career came to a close. When the author later entered into negotiations with the publisher Nicolai, the manuscript of Abdallah was accepted by the latter for publication and the first edition appeared anonymously in 1795. Thus far the chronological facts.

The story, which extends over some 250 pages,[1]

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1) T.S. VIII. The first edition, which has also been consulted, differs only in minor detail from the version as printed in the collected works. It is prefaced by the lines from A Midsummer Night's Dream:

'The poet's eye in a fine frenzy rolling,
Doth glance from heaven to earth, from earth
to heaven' etc.

is divided into three sections or 'books' corresponding approximately to discussions of the relations of Abdallah to Omar, Nadir and Ali respectively. The action may be summarised as follows:

Omar has sworn allegiance to Mondal, the monster of destruction, and has been sent into the world to work for his cause. In a moment of weakness he reveals to the impoverished Selim, Abdallah's father, where he can find treasures to replace those confiscated by the tyrant ruler Ali. As punishment for this act of humanity Omar is imprisoned by Mondal in the crack of a mountain where he is exposed to the extremes of climate and the vicious natural elements which prevail in the outer-worldly regions where Mondal has his abode. Omar is released from his anguish only on the condition that he returns to earth and expiates his former lapse by causing a son to bring about

the death of his father. As Selim had previously been the object of Omar's misplaced humanity he is now chosen to be the victim of the necessary act of parricide and the virtuous, god-fearing Abdallah must be brought to commssion of the crime. Omar has himself appointed tutor to Abdallah, whose mind he systematically poisons with a philosophy compounded of annihilism, epicureanism and atheism, which makes no distinction between vice and virtue and recognises enjoyment as the only true value in life. The torment of the confused youth, whose whole code of values is thus suddenly destroyed, is increased by his secret love for Zulma, the daughter of his father's arch-enemy Ali, a situation which is exploited by Omar to produce the ultimate downfall of Abdallah. A plot by Selim to overthrow the oppressive ruler is betrayed by Omar, and Selim, severely wounded, has to take refuge in a tiny hut secluded in the

woods.

Ali offers the hand of his daughter as a reward for the capture of Selim, and Abdallah sees in this the only solution to his impossible love-affair. By delivering his father into Ali's hands, he can make sure of gaining Zulma while avoiding the wrath of Selim. He consequently supplies Ali with information of his father's whereabouts and duly receives the hand of Zulma in return, only for her to recoil from him in horror when she learns of his crime. The gruesome story closes with the final torments of the mad and dying Abdallah. Woven into this primary sequence of earthly events is a series of supernatural incidents which represents the struggle of Nadir to counteract the evil influences of Omar and to rescue Abdallah from his approaching doom. In an early stage of the story Omar offers to reveal what the future holds in store for Abdallah who must descend to a

black subterranean cavern inhabited by owls and spirits to receive the message. The vision which there presents itself is that of the mutilated corpse of Selim, suggesting to Abdallah that his future happiness requires the death of his father. From a scroll delivered by Nadir to Abdallah we learn that Omar had previously belonged, with Nadir, to the society presided over by Achmed and devoted to the spreading of happiness and the punishment of evil. Nadir stresses upon Abdallah the disastrous consequences which must attend his trust in Omar and entreats him to dissociate himself at once. To escape from the evil powers of darkness Abdallah must plunge into their midst and prove to his final satisfaction that they are nothing more than vaporous hallucinations. By descending once more into the underground vaults and resolutely defying the apparitions which will confront him, he

can free himself for ever from their power. Again Abdallah submits himself to these supernatural forces and is met by visions of grotesque horror and increasing gruesomeness until in desperation he calls Omar to his rescue by means of a magic ring given to him for that purpose. He has failed to subdue the terrors which haunt him and has thrown himself completely into the arms of Omar.

If Abdallah is today dismissed as unworthy of its author - 'Seelenöde mit dumpfer Sehnsucht nach echtem Gehalt, überfütterte Phantasie, Redefertigkeit und Tintenfluss'[1] - its importance for his literary development is not for that reason to be underestimated, since what meets us here is not merely another horror-story but a veiled autobiography, the attempt by Tieck to overcome his moods of depression and fear of the unknown by striding

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1) F. Gundolf, 'Ludwig Tieck' in Jahrbuch des freien deutschen Hochstifts zu Frankfurt, 1929, pp.99-195.

boldly into their midst in order to prove to his own satisfaction that they were but unreal figments of an ailing spirit. It is the same test which Nadir had vainly demanded of Abdallah, with the essential difference that Tieck's perseverance in struggling with his problems achieved the desired effect and made possible his literary advance to the colourful romanticism of Franz Sternbalds Wanderungen.

The recognition of this cathartic content could hardly be expected of contemporary criticism faced with an anonymous publication and the book was summarily dismissed as yet another conventional ghost story. The Neue Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek required but few words:

> 'Es ist in Wahrheit zu bedauern, dass dem guten Geschmack zum Hohn, die Greuel der Zauber- und Gespenstergeschichten unter der Firma des Romans sich noch immer, und leider schon so geraume Zeit, aufs unverschämteste in das Gebiet der schönen Literatur

eindrängen, und darin, wie in ihrem Eigentume, hausen.'[1]

Generalised as this criticism is, it touches precisely upon the salient feature - the inherent weakness - of Abdallah, the excessive gloom and horror of the narrative. And it is just there that the work is at its most personal. The unhappiness and loneliness of Tieck's early years and his attempts to overcome them by seeking supernatural contacts have already been discussed; and these are the thoughts which are crystallised to form the philosophic content of the present Novelle.

In the foreground is the search for the meaning of life and the nature of reality, problems with which he had already grappled in two earlier works placed similarly in an Oriental setting, the unpublished fragment Roxane,[2] based on the Inc-theme,

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1) XXXIX (1798), 340.

2) Certain similarities between Roxane and Abdallah suggest that the two works may have originated at about the same time. Both contain an organised conspiracy against the Sultan and have the character-names Roxane, Abubeker, Raschic, Achmed and Ali in common.

and the idyll Almansur (1790), in which the way of salvation from doubt is pointed as lying in the renunciation of all knowledge. This theme is again clearly stated by Abdallah in a passage strongly reminiscent of the torments which were later to plague the hero of Der Blonde Eckbert and are typical of Tieck's own frustration and helplessness:

> 'O allenthalben renn' ich an eine Mauer wüthend an, die mich unbarmherzig zurückwirft. Wen soll ich fragen und wo nach Wahrheit forschen? Ach, vielleicht bin ich ein Wesen, einzig und ohne Freund und Feind in einer leeren Wüste, das eingeschlafen ist und von allen diesen irdischen Possenspielen und Furchtbarkeiten träumt und beim Erwachen sich selbst verspottet.'[1]

Knowledge had already been rejected as inadequate and now Tieck enquires whether faith, be it in a divinity, a philosophic system or merely some other human being, may provide the balance required for an integrated mode of living. From his initial

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1) T.S. VIII, 158.

position of an unquestioning, child-like faith, Abdallah is led by Omar's plausible arguments through the gradual stages of doubt, confusion and scepticism to his final standpoint where even the beliefs once most sincerely cherished have been taken away without anything being found to replace them. But in view of Abdallah's ultimate fate, one must draw the conclusion that the moral consists in no more than the platitudinous golden mean, that to believe too implicitly is as harmful as to believe nothing whatsoever and happiness lies between the two. Subsidiary to this central theme are two lesser motifs which confirm completely the association of Tieck himself with the hero, Abdallah's constant sense of friendlessness and the fear of future madness. Tieck's conscious, even planned efforts to win the friendship of his school-fellows proved consistently abortive and helped feed his gloomy pessimism with thoughts of his own insufficiency. The abrupt refusal of his

school-hero Bothe to have anything to do with him, the loss of Daschkeri and Viering, and above all the death of Toll deprived him of the companionship which he continually sought, particularly as a raw student in Halle, newly separated from his family and his dearest friend Wackenroder. The words he uses of Abdallah's inability to find someone in whom he could confide - 'Für eine Freundesseele, der er sich hätte aufschliessen können, hätte er die Hälfte seines dahingegeben'[1] - are spoken straight from his own heart and betray the true personage concealed behind the oriental mask of Abdallah. Likewise, the perpetual fear that morbid introspection may lead to eventual madness, an anxiety already found in letters written from Halle to Wackenroder[2] and again expressed in Abdallah, is to be considered as autobiographical rather than fictitious, a product of Tieck's

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1) T.S. VIII, 71-2.

2) See Chapter II, pp. 45f.

attempt to seek refuge from his own horrors in those of the popular literature. To these two factors, the depressive wretchedness of the author himself and the tone of the novels to which he turned his attention (and here the effects of Grosse's Der Genius are symptomatic) must be ascribed the lugubrious monotony of Abdaliah. This proved too much even for Wackenroder who in his criticism of Der Abschied (1792) had actually encouraged Tieck to concentrate upon the tragic[1] and was otherwise well satisfied with the construction and execution of this latest work. After praising the good qualities of the work Wackenroder reassumes the self-appointed role of adviser to his unstable friend and, not for the first time, warns him of the inevitable dangers to himself if he continues in this way:

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1) 'O lass doch die Reimerey sein! Hier ist Dein Wirkungskreis, im Feld des Tragischen und der trüben Melancholie.' Karl von Holtei, Briefe an Ludwig Tieck (Breslau, 1864) IV, 256.

'Die Phantasie, die das Ganze durchströmt, ist feurig, gross und erhaben, und vermischt sich oft so innig mit der Vernunft, dass man sie nicht davon scheiden kann... Die philosophischen Hypothesen des Omar sind meisterhaft dargestellt, und haben mich ganz in jenen wunderbaren uns überirdischen Abend zurückgezaubert.[1] Aber zerrüttet wird der Geist, für Freuden der Erde und angenehme Eindrücke verstimmt, selbst für Freundschaft und Liebe verdorben, zu ewigem Mismuth, zu trauriger Unthätigkeit verdammt, wenn er sich diesen wunderbar fürchterlichen Träumereien überlässt, und sie nicht wenigstens im Gespräche mit dem Freunde des Herzens, im Mondschein, verbannt, dass sie am Morgen mit der milden Sonnenhelle aus seinem Busen verscheucht werden und ihm als nichts mehr, als was sie sind, erscheinen - als Traum. Die Einsamkeit, die zu weit tröstlicheren, Herz erhebenderen Gedanken und Phantasien inspiriren kann, und der Tag, der unsere Thätigkeit des Geistes für uns und unsere Nebenmenschen fordert, - bleibe von diesen verzehrenden Gifte frey, das unsere Seele vor der Auflösung des Körpers verwesen lässt. Aber, o wehe! diese felsenfeste Wahrheit ist Dir ja leider nur zu gut bekannt, - und der Himmel wird meinen sehnlichsten Wunsch erhören, - nicht vergebens bekannt.[2]

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1) Tieck had read the opening chapters of the tale to Wackenroder some time previously.

2) Holtei, IV, 261.

But the admonishment was no longer necessary, for in unburdening himself through the medium of his creative art Tieck had found the emotional outlet which was denied to him in personal friendship, and at the same time has left us an invaluable document for the study of his literary development.

Like all of Tieck's earlier compositions, Abdallah bears the distinct marks of his wide reading and furnishes evidence of his experimental versatility in adapting the themes he found in his sources to his own purposes. Before proceeding to a consideration of the importance of Gothic and trivial elements, it will be necessary to deal briefly with these other sources, in order to discover the features in them which seemed to Tieck suitable for underlining the mood of his own story.

Most immediately striking is the oriental environment in which the scene is set, a background already chosen by Tieck for Roxane and Almansur in

accordance with the contemporary taste for the mystic and exotic which had arisen from the reaction to the rationalists' stifling of the imaginative faculty in literature.[1] This trend is early visible in France with Voltaire's Zadig (1746) and further marked by the enormous success of Beckford's Vathek (1785), but the orientalism of Abdallah is so unconvincing that it would be fatuous to assert more than a certain reliance on episodes derived from the Arabian Nights. Among these may be numbered the sudden appearance of a glittering palace during Abdallah's sojourn in the underworld (a not uncommon incident in these Tales) as also the magic ring with its mysterious characters which is probably derived both in method and intent from Aladdin's wonder-lamp (cf. the strange sabre brought by the Indian to Vathek). In giving Abdallah the ring, Omar warns him that it is only

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1) See Chapter III, p.128-9 where the oriental background is already enumerated as a characteristic of the Gothic novel.

to be used in moments of emergency, but should it become inevitable 'nenne meinen Namen, drehe diesen Ring und du bist gerettet.'[1] Apart from the choice of proper names, the cultivation of a genuine eastern decor can be detected only in the almost self-conscious use of isolated 'atmospheric' nouns such as 'mosque' and 'cypresses' since it is only for the philosophical or thought-content, in which the book's centre of gravity is meant to lie, that Tieck is able to raise any genuine enthusiasm.

The conflict waged by Omar against his pupil for the purpose of reversing all the youth's previous beliefs and values - in modern terminology one might call it an ethical brainwashing - will be found to contain in its argumentation a curious mixture of pretentious philosophic depth and simple sophistry drawn from greatly divergent sources. Omar's role may best be called that of anarchist,

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1) T.S. VIII, 75.

for the nature of his mission requires him to evolve situations which he knows will prove destructive to the participants. This is true not only of his relationship to Abdallah, in which, under the pretence of promoting the youth's best interests, he reduces him to a poverty of intellect which accelerates his disastrous fate, but indeed of every other relationship. He accepts the responsibilities of tutor merely in order to obtain easier access to his victim, he openly supports Selim's plans for the attack on Ali and sways the hesitant warrior Abubeker with his eloquence, only to betray the conspiracy to the enemy , he solemnly swears to his charge that he will unite him with Zulma and gives him a magic ring as protection against danger, the more surely to entangle him in his evil designs.

Tieck's early familiarity with the mystic writings of Jakob Böhme find their expression here in the pantheistic view that God is present in every

form which he has created. Thus evil is as divine in its origins as good, and the human distinction between the two, the acceptance of virtue and the rejection of vice, is a mere social convention hallowed only by usage. Were God to punish evil, he would thus be punishing himself. The argument is then put forward that only an enlightened mind can rise above these formal divisions between right and wrong and that fear of the consequences of evil is a sign of cowardice. From here it is but a short step to the ideal of life based on pleasure, a hedonistic philosophy which seduces the unhappy youth to seek satisfaction in a round of sensual and material pleasures. Omar's contempt for virtue is reminiscent in its application, if not in its intensity, of the speech of the Marquis de Montalt in Mrs. Radcliffe's The Romance of the Forest in which he similarly tries to overcome La Motte's misgivings against committing murder:

> 'There are certain prejudices attached to the human mind, which it requires

all our wisdom to keep from interfering with our happiness, certain set notions, acquired in infancy and cherished involuntarily by age, which grow up and assume a gloss so plausible, that few minds can afterwards overcome them.'

' Was wir Tugend nennen, ist bloss Gewohnheit, nichts als ein Gesetz, um die Gesellschaft, die der Mensch errichtet hat, aufrecht zu erhalten.'

'It is the first proof of a superior mind to liberate itself from prejudices of country, as of education.'

'Laster und Tugend fliessen in einen Strahl zusammen, es ist hohe Weisheit, dass man den Unverständigen glauben lässt, sie wären von Ewigkeit her geschieden.'[1]

Omar's method of countering each statement of Abdallah with unsystematic ad hoc arguments means that he frequently contradicts his own previous assertions, as in both conceding and denying man's free will, and draws his material from unexpected quarters. Thus our initial surprise at finding statements of biblical origin scattered throughout

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1) The Romance of the Forest, B.N.L., X, 163-4; T.S. VIII, 183-4.

Omar's tirades against conventional virtue in order to add to their speciousness, is likewise due to the failure to realise that Tieck is engaged in manipulating familiar ideas to form a new system. To add weight to his emphasis on the shortness of life and the desirability to enjoy every moment to the full, Omar unobstrusively adds:

> 'Darum sagte jener grosse Sänger:
> Jahrtausende sind vor dir mir wie
> ein Augenblick.'[1]

When Abdallah hesitates before abandoning his christian beliefs, Omar assures him that his only barrier is lack of faith and ironically calls a scriptural text to his aid:

> 'Daher sagte ein weiser Prophet mit
> tiefem Sinn zu seinen Schülern:
> Glaubet, und ihr werdet Berge
> versetzen!'[2]

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1) T.S. VIII, 62. Psalm 90, iv: 'Denn tausend Jahre sind vor die wie der Tag, der gestern vergangen ist, und wie eine Nachtwache.'

2) T.S. VIII, 65. I Corinthians 13, ii: 'Und wenn ich weissagen könnte und wüsste alle Geheimnisse und alle Erkenntnis und hätte allen Glauben, also dass ich Berge versetze, und hätte der Liebe nicht, so wäre ich nichts.'

Nor is it difficult to trace back the words of the monstrous Mondal:

> 'Die Gedanken, die die du begreifst,
> sind nicht meine Gedanken'.

to the Old Testament where Tieck had found them.[1] Köpke[2] adds one further consideration in suggesting that the diabolic nature of Omar was partially formed from Tieck's personal acquaintance with a fellow student, Wiesel, in Halle, to whom he had been introduced by Burgsdorff. Tieck's known disgust at the dissolute ways of this unattractive figure lend some strength to this observation, which demonstrates the process by which Tieck based his writings on the things that lay close at hand. And in that sense the dialectic of Abdallah is a final resolution of the battle Tieck had already fought in his own mind.

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1) Isaiah, 55, viii: 'Denn meine Gedanken sind nicht eure Gedanken, und eure Wege sind nicht meine Wege, spricht der Herr.'

2) Köpke, I, 152.

Of the literary sources drawn upon by Tieck for Abdallah the most predominant is Shakespeare, who is indeed responsible for the intended psychological depth of the work. For the portrayal of the torments of Abdallah as he endeavours to comprehend the purpose of life and the nature of death, Tieck found a ready model in Hamlet, echoes of whose more famous soliloquies are distinctly audible, for example, in the third book. Death seems preferable to life without Zulma, until Omar, afraid that Abdallah's free death may rob him of his prey, brings him to a consideration of the future 'Nichtsein' and the Hamletian conclusion that 'Nur der Thor und der Verzweifelte tauscht ein gewisses Gut gegen ein ungewisses und glaubt zu gewinnen.'[1] Inspired by the same monologue is

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1) T.S. VIII, 177-8. Cf. Hamlet, III, 1:
'But that the dread of something after death
..... puzzles the will,
And makes us rather bear those ills we have
Than fly to others that we know not of.'

undoubtedly Omar's: 'Ja, den Tod erdulden ist leicht, gegen den Schmerz der Pfeile, die ein quaalvolles Leben auf uns abschiesst',[1] which retains the metaphor of the original:

> 'Whether 'tis nobler in the mind to suffer
> The slings and arrows of outrageous fortune'

And it is no less apparent that Abdallah's response to this argument is based on another Shakespearian monologue, that in Macbeth I, vii: 'Und wenn nun unsere Rechnung hier unten schon völlig geschlossen würde? Wenn alle Anweisungen auf jenseit falsch und untergeschoben wären?' (It may also be that the kind of prison inflicted on Omar by Mondal, a specially-created fissure in a mountain, was suggested by the imprisonment of Ariel in a tree trunk in The Tempest I, ii.)

The two most crucial motifs of the work, however, Abdallah's love for the daughter of a

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1) T.S. VIII, 182. Cf. also the sentence in the first edition of Abdallah (p.8), later omitted: 'Du warst nur geboren, um den Pfeilen des Jammers ein Ziel zu seyn.'

hostile family, and the ensuing act of parricide, are taken only indirectly from Shakespeare through the literature of the 'Sturm und Drang', with which Tieck had first become acquainted at the Berlin National Theatre. Already in Gotthold (1789) he had experimented with the similar theme of love between members of families bitterly opposed and sworn to revenge, and now he turns to it again fascinated by its highly dramatic potentialities. By opposing love, the strongest of passions, with parricide, the direst of crimes, in a struggle to be fought out in the mind of a wavering youth subject to pernicious influences from elsewhere, he created a powerful situation which could only culminate in the tragic downfall of the hero. Parricide was recognised as the basest of crimes wherever it appeared, as in the magnificent scene in Die Räuber, where Franz Moor enquires of Moser:

> 'Sag' mir, was ist die grösste Sünde, und die ihn am Grimmigsten aufbringt?

Moser: Ich kenne nur zwo. Aber sie werden nicht von Menschen begangen, auch ahnen sie Menschen nicht.

Franz: Diese zwo?

Moser: Vatermord heisst die eine, Brudermord die andere.'[1]

The same idea is found again in von Törring's Agnes Bernauerin (1780) that fatherhood is an inviolable state and that even when the father himself is a tyrant, he is deserving of love and respect from his children. So Zulma's hatred of Selim, justified by her family hostility as also by his opposition to her love for Abdallah, is still exceeded by her revulsion at the thought of the crime committed against him:

'Jeden andern Verbrecher verzeiht der gütige Himmel einst, aber des Vatermörders Gebet darf sich nicht in sein Himmel wagen, die Engel würden erzittern und der ewige Glanz seines Thrones erbleichen.'[2]

Love for Zulma is irreconcilable with hatred for

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1) Act V, Sc.1.

2) T.S. VIII, 225.

Selim, for the act of parricide is symbolic of the incapacity of Abdallah to experience any feelings of tenderness for others. Just as Karl Moor exclaims when he agrees to be the leader of the band of robbers:

'Ich habe keinen Vater mehr, ich habe keine Liebe mehr'[1] so the treachery of Abdallah indicates his insensitivity to love:

> 'Die ganze Natur wird in ihr Chaos zurückspringen, denn die Liebe ist todt.'[2]

Abdallah's second descent into the underworld at the prompting of Nadir is therefore to be interpreted as an attempted banishment of all intention to go through with the murder of his father, a prospect which had dawned upon him during his first visit, in which, like Julius in Leisewitz' Julius von Tarent (1775) the death of

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1) Die Räuber, Act I, Sc.2.

2) T.S. VIII, 223.

his father was shown to be essential to his happiness.[1] Each ghostly shade now chants 'Vatermörder!' to him as he passes and the implication clearly is, that could Abdallah have but withstood this trial, he would never have performed the deed. As it is, the triumph goes to the powers of darkness who re-appear after his father's betrayal and execution to resume their cries of 'Vatermörder!'

Inspired as is this conflict of crime and love by the drama of the 'Sturm und Drang', the nature of the love elements itself in Tieck shows little resemblance to the passionate earthly love so characteristic of this genre. The love of Abdallah and Zulma, aroused at first sight and containing never a suggestion of elopement or defiance of the parents, despite the impasse in which they find themselves, is an intensely

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1) Julius von Tarent Act III, Sc. 5: 'Gott, ich kann die Idee nicht ausstehn, mein Glück von dem Tode meines Vaters zu erwarten.'

spiritual affair conducted on a high, almost mystic plane. This feature of Tieck's early writing has been almost completely overlooked, for amidst all the violence and impetuosity of Abdallah we find in the dreamlike, idealistic texture of the love scenes, early signs of genuine romanticism. In this sense the gradual development from the idea here expressed:

> 'Ist Liebe nicht der Zweck alles Erschaffenen, das, was uns die Öde Welt in einen Garten umwandelt.'

through the author's statement (hardly evident as the fact is from the work itself) that love is the central theme of Karl von Berneck[1] to the purely romantic love sequels of Franz Sternbalds Wanderungen is worthy of particular attention.

A further preview of Tieck's later romantic

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1) T.S, XI, p.xxxviii: 'Der Gedanke, dass die Liebe als Mitterin auftreten will, war es eigentlich, der mich zu dieser Arbeit begeisterte.'

method is found here in his early preference for moonlit scenery[1] amidst a natural background which still accorded in its broad outlines with that of the Genie-literature. As so frequently happened there, Tieck heralds a chapter of disaster with a severe storm which is interpreted by the hero as an ill-omen for his newest project. Detailed description is only seldom offered but where this is the case it is inevitably from the panoramic viewpoint of the trivial novelists:

> 'Jetzt hatte er einen Hügel erstiegen, der die schönste Gegend übersah..'[2]

The tone of Goethe's Götz von Berlichingen and Schiller's Die Räuber penetrates into the more exalted passages of the narrative inspired by the realism of the language and the favour shown to

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1) T.S. VIII, 16, 81, 149. p.50 the phrase 'mondbeglänzte Gegend' also occurs. See Chapter IV, p.177 on 'moonlight'.

2) T.S. VIII, 45. Cf. also Chapter IV, pp.149 ff. on 'panoramic scenery'.

'Kraftausdrücke'.[1] The failure to capture the atmosphere of these models lies first of all in the fact that Tieck, by placing the conflict between right and wrong within the mind of a single character, was really engaged in describing a psychological process unsuited to the style of a Götz or Karl Moor. Both of these were by nature men of action whose purposefulness and forthrightness found expression in the directness of their colourful language, whereas almost the whole dramatic content of Abdallah, such as Selim's attack on Ali's palace and Abdallah's first descent into the underworld, is relegated to indirect narration. And Tieck has added to the already

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1) Individual motifs in Abdallah may also have been incorporated under these influences. Exactly as Nadir appears at Abdallah's wedding feast and produces from beneath his cloak a mirror in which the features of Omar are reflected (p.234) so in Schiller's Der Geisterseher, the Sicilian suddenly uncovers a mirror showing the face of the strange Armenian who has been following the prince. (Deutsche National Litteratur, CXXVI, 105). The insitence with which Ali demands that Selim must be brought to him alive recalls the passage in Die Räuber (Act IV, Sc.5) where Karl Moor orders the capture of his brother Franz.

difficult task of presenting a clash of philosophical ideologies, the fact that his hero must finally succumb to the demonic powers which surround him; it is, in Minder's words, 'le roman de la déformation d'un caractère.'[1] From the first Abdallah is convinced of his ultimate ruin and conscious that he is balancing precariously on the brink of an awful abyss, yet is devoid of the strength of mind and character necessary to save himself:

> 'Du stehst vor einem Abgrund, der sich zwischen zwey Felsen reisst, ein dichter Nebel liegt wie Land dazwischen und du trittst mit vertrauendem Fuss in die Luft, aber du wirst in die Tiefe stürzen.'[2]

It is therefore the negative, pessimistic attitude which impresses itself most deeply upon the reader, an awareness of Abdallah's spiritual bankruptcy and the horror and hopelessness of his fate as opposed to the optimistic strivings of the 'Kraftgenie' supported by his idealism. If it is

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1) Minder, op. cit., 87.
2) T.S. VIII, 56.

Abdallah's emphasis on the weakness of the protagonist which most distinguishes it from the 'Sturm und Drang' tradition, it is in the literary style, or more precisely in the vocabulary, that the clue to the work's true progeny is to be found, for here Tieck's dependance upon the 'roman noir' becomes singularly evident. It may be accurately stated that the primary intention of the writer was to arouse fear, in which respect his ambition aimed no higher than that of the average trivial writer. Inevitably therefore he turned for the language suitable to the intensification of the sombre atmosphere to the familiar stylistic devices of these same writers - the horrific compounds, morbid similes and unaesthetic contemplation of physical decay. And with this the main consider: :ation of Abdallah's relationship to the Gothic and trivial novel has been reached. 'Todtengerippe' 'weissgebleichtes Todtengebein' 'Todesengel' 'Todeskrämpfe' 'Todeszuckungen' 'Schreckgestalten'

'Schreckenserinnerungen' ravens, owls, dragons, and a waterfall like foaming blood are all scattered about the stage on which the once-virtuous Abdallah is struggling to protect himself from the fiery darts of his adversaries. Equally sinister in connotation are the similes, here given in ascending order of effectiveness - 'still wie das Grab' 'alles rundumher war still wie ein Grab' 'alles war still wie ein grosses Todtengewölbe' 'das fürchterliche Geheimnis ist wie ein Todtengerippe herausgeschritten' 'das schauderhafte Getön kommt mir wieder schneidend entgegen, wie ein Heer von bösen Engeln, die in gräßlicher wüthender Schadenfreude mit den Höllenpauken die Verdammten begrüssen' 'er ging wie ein Schatten durch die schwarze Nacht dahin, wie ein Gespenst, das auf dem öden Schlachtfelde in stiller Nacht seinen Leichnam sucht.'[1]

These examples will suffice as evidence of the

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1) T.S. VIII, 118, 143, 123, 121, 70, 141 respectively.

way in which the still youthful author sought to achieve his effect; by restricting his phantasy to the murky regions where many had toiled before him his only hope of originality lay in new and suggestive combinations of words. And this was not enough.

The adoption of such an uniformly sordid vocabulary was only one means to the end. To assess more completely Tieck's reliance upon the apparatus of the Gothicists, we may apply to Abdallah the 'Gothic criteria' of Redden as previously elaborated.[1] While it is not to be expected that all the features there listed will appear in a single story, this comparison will indicate sufficiently the basic conventionality of the structure of the work.

The Castle and its accessories are of no particular significance in this story where the action is centred on moral rather than on physical

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1) See Chapter III, p. 117.

issues, yet it is striking that when Tieck does require to describe the derelict, secluded cottage where Selim takes refuge, it is in much the same terms as those used by the Gothicists to convey the horror of the castle:

> 'Alles war verwildert, das Dach mit Moos bedeckt und vom Regen durchlöchert, durch die Fenster hatten sich junge Gesträuche gedrängt und Epheu schlängelte sich in grünen Labyrinthen die Wände hinan, Eulen hatten sich auf den benachbarten Bäumen niedergelassen und heulten nach dem Hause hinüber.'[1]

The elements of this description correspond quite accurately, making an almost random comparison, with Mrs. Radcliffe's picture of the desolate mansion in The Romance of the Forest in which La Motte and his party take up residence:

> 'The lofty battlements, thickly enwreathed with ivy, were half demolished, and become the residence of birds of prey. Huge fragments of the eastern tower, which was almost demolished, lay scattered amid the high grass, that waved slowly

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1) T.S. VIII, 116.

> to the breeze. The thistle shook its lonely head; the moss whistled to the wind.'[1]

By this means Tieck sought to add to the cottage a lugubrious atmosphere which has no direct bearing on its function as Selim's hide-out, for here there are to be none of the supernatural visitations and mysterious creakings which justified this cultivation of gloom in the Gothic romances.

More prominent is the allocation of the hallucinatory content to subterranean caverns, to which Abdallah is led in turn by Omar and Nadir for the respective purposes of learning the key to his future and then to overcome his fear of the supernatural elements.[2] In these haunts with their damp, slimy walls, their peals of laughter and their icy stillness, Abdallah is confronted with scenes of mounting horror as he experiences the three-fold vision of his father's bleeding corpse

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1) The Romance of the Forest, B.N.L., X, 82.
2) See Chapter III, p.121, Section III, line 3.

the insubstantial shades of Omar with gnashing teeth and eyes like balls of fire, and the gruesome wedding dance of the 'Ungeheuer in Weibergestalten' which culminates in the appearance of his beloved Zulma in the form of a disfigured skeleton. The alternation of scenes of oriental colour and brightness serves only to mislead the victim with false hopes for the improvement of his situation and to accentuate the despair of the ensuing turn of events. The underground regions are therefore represented as the haunts of the supernatural forces, and as such fulfil the dual function of allowing Tieck to portray Abdallah's dreadful conflict with these forces as a physical experience rather than as a mental vision, and thereby contribute to the motivation of Omar's medial position between the human and the diabolical.

The treatment of natural phenomena in this story has already been indicated and found to be

still in the 'background' manner of Ryno. This will be confirmed by reference to the opening of almost any chapter. Consider, for example, the bright and pleasant picture of the setting sun on the evening that Abdallah has fallen in love with Ali's daughter. The whole natural world seems to participate in his own joyfulness and to reflect the glow of his own soul:

> 'Rothe Wolken schwammen durch den Himmel und glänzten vorüberfliegend an den hellen Fenstern, Schwalben zwitscherten um ihn her, alles war ihm theuer, alles war ihm neu und ein neugewonnener Freund. Eine flammende Gluth brannte durch den Himmel, das Abendroth sank hinter den Fluss nieder und warf ein bleiches goldnes Netz nach dem Abendsterne..'[1]

How strongly this contrasts with the natural surrounding on the night that Omar goes walking with Abdallah in order to divert his thoughts to the evil deed which he is preparing for him:

> 'Schwarz lag die Nacht auf dem Gefilde. Wolken gossen sich gedrängt und düster

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1) T.S. VIII, 49.

> von den Bergen herab, in hohen unendlichen Gebirgen aufgewälzt, wie eine dicke gewölbte Mauer hing der schwarze Himmel mit seinen wankenden Riesenschatten über ihnen, kein Stern sah durch die Hülle, kein Strahl des Mondes zitterte durch die Wolkenwildnis: ein Regen rauschte in den nahen Bäumen, durch den fernen Wald wandelte dur Sturm dumpf murrend... und ein heimliches Grauen stieg von den finstern Bergen.'[1]

For the young Tieck, as for the trivial writers, there could be only one outcome for a chapter with such a prelude and the darkness of nature merely heralds the wickedness of Omar. The technique is purely formal, even within this short passage many of the traditional atmospheric words are called upon, 'schwarz' 'düster' 'finster' 'rauschen' 'dumpf' 'Grauen', with the writer's propensity for compounds likewise evident in 'Riesenschatten' and 'Wolkenwildnis'. All this is in the characteristic style, for there is no specific description of the scene and its components,

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1) T.S. VIII, p. 58 f.

merely a general attempt to hint at the hostility of the elements through certain evocative, but overworked, words. Tieck had still to learn that nature was really one of the cast, not part of the decor.

There is no use made in Abdallah of the common theme of deposed ancestors waiting to be avenged, and therefore no place for the Gothic picture which symbolised this past heritage.

The dream, however, is a basic feature which reappears throughout the course of the tale, now in the literal sense and with the conventional purpose of warning of approaching disaster, now in the more symbolic sense of life as a dream which will be ended only by the realities which await us after death. The first kind of dream is that experienced by the aged warrior Abubeker whose presentiments of the disastrous attack on Ali prove only too correct; but the dream has no

deeper meaning than that. How different to the dream-like atmosphere which surrounds Abdallah's encounters with the forces of evil, indeed it is never made clear to the reader where the division between dream and reality is to be made. This is in fact the problem which confronts Abdallah himself. His second visit to the underworld is narrated as a physical adventure, the meeting with Nadir and the descent into the cavernous depths, the gruesome sights which drive him to the brink of madness, the magic ring which rescues him in the final moment of anguish, all of this is credible in the context of this story as a return to the dwellings of the supernatural. But as he turns the ring which is to deliver him, Abdallah awakens on his bed at the secluded cottage. The visions are still very real to him and the strangeness of his situation soon becomes clear:

'Aus einem Traum komme ich? - O wo fängt
die Wahrheit an? So steht die Grenzsäule?'

- and a little later:

> 'Omar, bin ich vielleicht wahnsinnig?
> Wer bist du und was ist diese Welt?'[1]

Omar, the anarchist, aware that his true identity has now been revealed, quickly assures the youth that it was merely a nightmare that he has experienced - 'denn ich kam in der Stunde der Mitternacht hierher und fand dich schlafend.'[2] The truth is still further obscured by the advent of Selim who confirms that Abdallah has slept soundly, for Omar returned from his travels this very night, 'er ist in dieser Nacht zurückgekommen, aber du schliefest so sanft, dass wir dich nicht wecken wollten.'[3] Yet if we accept the fact that Abdallah's sojourn in the underworld was a dream, this must negate the whole character of Nadir who does, however, physically appear elsewhere in the story. The explanation is to be preferred that Tieck intentionally created this indecisive situation

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1) T.S. VIII, 155, 157.
2) Ibid., 159.
3) Ibid, 163.

as being indicative of the whole problem of the work, what is reality and who is to say that the reality of a dream is inferior to that of the material world.

From what has already been said it will be self-evident that the Supernatural is allotted a place of primary importance. Characters such as Omar and Nadir are in allegiance with god-like creatures from whom they hold power over the lives of mortals. These are supported by the host of monsters, giants, dwarfs, misshapen, malformed and distorted figures, fleshless arms, nodding skulls, animate skeletons and speaking corpses whose habitat is the infernal vapours of the deep. At every step we are confronted by the products of Tieck's lively phantasy, culminating in the ludicrous final act when the betrayed Selim returns from the dead to visit Abdallah:

> 'Bist du's, geliebter Sohn?'
>
> Die Leiche hob sich langsam auf.
>
> 'Komm in meine Arme! - Komm! Ich muss von Tugend und Gott zu dir sprechen![1]

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1) T.S. VIII, 242.

In addition to these two manifestations of the supernatural, the human being in liege with the otherworldly and the subterranean spirits in their haunts, Abdallah has many of the more mundane concomitants of the Gothic superstition. The ring, possessed of special powers to rescue the wearer from intricate situations, is a favourite demonic symbol, the preference for midnight as the hour when the night is most full of mystery,[1] the repeated stress of the figure three as having some symbolical validity,[2] the lamp which suddenly burns blue to indicate the presence of supramortal agencies,[3] all are thrown in as Tieck runs through the whole inventory of the Gothic novel.

Abdallah contains no clerical figures, despite

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1) 'Aus tiefer Ferne rief der Wächter in der Stadt die Mitternachtstunde.' (p. 67).

2) '.. berührte mit der Stirn dreimal den Boden' (p.42),
'.. schlug mit seinem Stab dreimal auf den Boden' (p.66),
'dreimal verflucht' (p.136), also pp. 27,69,85,173.

3) 'Die Lampe im Zimmer brannte matt und blau' (p.135-6),
'Nur ein einziges (Licht) brannte in der Ferne noch matt und blau' (p.241).

the strongly christian bias of much of the ideological content. But the unfavourable depiction of a member of the church, the sense which Redden attaches to this feature is not present.

The harem is implicit in the statement made of Ali, 'mehrere seiner Gemahlinnen starben',[1] and it is therefore interesting to observe that in the first edition of the work this phrase was preceded by a direct reference to this harem, later omitted, 'aber im Harem erzogen ward diese zarte Pflanze..'

Proceeding through Redden's list we clearly recognise the presence of a tyrant figure, or indeed tyrant figures, in Abdallah. In the very first sentences of the story Tieck paints Ali as a cruel, tyrannical ruler who governs his people with a harsh hand, 'dem Tirannen entgeht der Haas sie, mit dem ihn seine Unterthanen verfolgen.' Throughout the succeeding stages of the story Ali remains hard and

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1) T.S. VIII, 3.

bitter until his final execution of Selim. Yet even Ali is overshadowed by the monster Mondal, whose power is not that of a ruling monarch, rather does he watch in his far-off kingdom over the industry of mankind and seek to confound it by his urge for destruction. It is he who punishes with cruel severity Omar's one act of humanity, and this one-sided character of Mondal makes him the most complete of tyrants, to whom compassion is unknown.

It is of little avail to continue an accumulation of such Gothic features for what has been said already establishes the case. Even in motivation the correspondence with the trivial novel is very great. The dual motifs of the story are:

i) The condition which has to be fulfilled to release Omar.

ii) The love between members of hostile families and the attendant appeal to the emotions.

i) Mondal has liberated Omar from his imprisonment on one condition:

'Itzt versuche deine Kraft; nur ein Sohn kann dich befreien, der, ohne vom Wahnsinn umhergejagt zu werden, seinen eigenen geliebten Vater dem Tode Übergiebt.'

A potentially intense dramatic situation is thus evolved as pressure is brought by Omar to force Abdallah to the commission of the greatest of all crimes, parricide. The condition was a favoured literary technique, for its terms were usually vague and seemingly impossible of fulfilment. It may be recalled that the background to the Castle of Otranto was an ancient prophecy that 'the castle and the lordship of Otranto should pass from the present family, whenever the real owner should be grown too large to inhabit it.'[1] By this means a fatalistic element was introduced into the action and the triumph of justice as represented by the ancestors was assured. Tieck transfers this prophetic rôle to the evil genius Mondal, and consequently it is the ultimate downfall of

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1) The Castle of Otranto, 186.

Abdallah which is inevitable.

ii) The love of Abdallah and Zulma is complicated beyond the family hostility by the fact that it would invalidate a solemn promise given by Selim that his son should wed the daughter of Abubeker. The impossibility of going back on such a promise forces Selim repeatedly to deny Abdallah the right to choose his own wife and compels him to abandon his father to Ali. Before his first meeting with Zulma Abdallah actually expresses his willingness to comply with his father's wish, though Tieck handles the scene clumsily and makes Selim needlessly, and quite out of character, curse his own son:

> 'Abdallah: Ich liebe nur dich und Omar.
>
> Selim: Lass diese kindliche Liebe nie in deinem Busen verlöschen. Abubekers Tochter, - oder meinen Fluch!'[1]

This sudden outburst on Selim's part, entirely

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1) T.S. VIII, 28.

unmotivated as it is, is intended to underline the inviolability of an oath but is too artificially applied to have any genuine impact. Selim's wrath does not become justifiable until he learns of Abdallah's love for Zulma, and it is his insistence on honouring his promise to Abubeker which creates the situation which Omar too willingly exploits.

One further point of similarity between Abdallah and The Castle of Otranto is contained in the episode concerning buried treasure. Omar's one compassionate act was to restore to Selim the wealth which had been confiscated by Ali. His instructions to Selim were simply:

> 'Grabe hinter jenem verfallenen Hügel und ein neues Glück wird dir entgegenblühen.'[1]

The passage is reminiscent of the experience of Frederic, Marquis of Vicenza, who is met by a dying hermit in a wood near Joppa and told:

> 'Dig under the seventh tree on the left hand of this poor cave, and your pains will..'[2]

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1) T.S. VIII, 26.

2) The Castle of Otranto, 248.

at which point the hermit expired.

This formidable list can leave no doubt as to Tieck's knowledge of and reliance upon the Gothic novel, nor indeed has everything been said. The stock technique of breaking off the action at the peak of tension when the invaluable palm leaves blow out of Abdallah's hand, the almost indiscriminate use of compounds with 'blood' for the sake of a sensational effect, the shattering rapidity with which a familiar object suddenly seems quite strange - many such details could still be catalogued. But it will perhaps be of greater benefit if our final thoughts on this work are directed to seeking out the more original and 'Tieckian' elements in this morass of convention.

Certain early indications of Tieck's later romantic style, particularly in his treatment of nature, have been considered already. This will be further supported by the observation that those

themes listed in the previous chapter[1] as recurrent throughout the whole of his writings, are already evident to a certain extent in Abdallah. Decay is a subject frequently referred to by Omar since he bases upon it his philosophy of enjoyment; life is not merely short but conclusive and only the fool does not enjoy it to the full. Abdallah is understandably impressed by such sentiments coming from his teacher who warns him that the attempt to discover too much will end only in disillusionment:

> 'O Jüngling, lass die Erde unaufgewühlt,
> du findest ein scheussliches
> Todtengerippe!'[2]

These thoughts not only deflect Abdallah's mind from the suicide he has been contemplating but convince him that, if death is the end of all, the betrayal of his father can quickly be forgotten in the enjoyment of Zulma. His mistake becomes only too clear to him in the closing stages where Zulma

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1) Chapter IV, Section B.

2) T.S. VIII, p. 6.

deserts him, Omar gloats over the destruction of this 'schöne Seele' and his father's spirit returns to chide him.

Coupled with this are the same sudden feelings of physical helplessness, man is a prisoner trapped in the world and there is no means of escape. He is prevented from carrying out the noble thoughts of which he is capable by the limitations of the body, and the fact that he is for ever tied to a confining world. But the analogy is not restricted to Abdallah himself; it is also put into the mouth of Selim when he addresses his men before the attack on Ali's palace. He appeals to their recollections of past freedom in a passage which bears the unmistakable stamp of Tieck:

> 'Wozu der schönen Erinnerung, Freunde? Diese Zeit war und ist nicht mehr, der Sonnenstrahl, der scheu an des Gefängnisses Mauern zittert, macht dem Gefangenen den Kerker enger..'[1]

His thoughts on childhood are likewise in precisely

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1) T.S. VIII, 30.

the same vein as discussed, childhood as the symbol of a lost innocence in which the realities of life were still unsuspected. In the confusions of mind which Abdallah's conversations with Omar produce, his cry is that he may regain the simplicity of his childhood:

> 'O gieb mir zurück, Omar, was du mir genommen hast, als ich mit kindlichem, leichtem Herzen noch durch das Leben ging. Mit frohen Ahndungen ging ich der verschlossnen Welt vorüber, du hast sie mir aufgethan und verächtlich liegt die häusliche Armseligkeit der innern Natur vor mir.'[1]

In such details the still-dormant qualities of Tieck are to be found buried beneath much that can be described only as bombast and pretension. Unordered thoughts and partly-digested ideas are thrown together in the attempt to portray a psychological clash of character. Yet if one must concede that the psychological progression

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1) T.S. VIII, 73.

in the story is automatic and not very compelling, its mere presence does represent the author's desire not to be satisfied with the physical action alone. In this he would perhaps have been well-advised to use the medium of the drama, for the tendency is already very strong in the preference given to dialogue, and the technique of prefacing long stretches of direct speech simply with the speaker's name, as is customary in a formal drama. Doubtless such a discipline would still have been beyond the powers of Tieck as even Abdallah, despite its weaknesses, stands considerably above the earliest crude dramas. It must be placed to Tieck's credit that the characters of this story are much more individually convincing in delineation than those of the usual horror-story. His tyrant ruler, while every inch a tyrant, is nonetheless perfectly credible within the framework of this tale, just as Selim is a fairly realistic blend of

fatherly love and severity. Tieck has succeeded in animating his figures, even the lesser participants such as Abubeker and the jealous Raschid, so that each has a distinctive personality which raises him above the more customary 'type'. This fact is to be attributed to the close affinity between the author's writing and his own experience, for every facet of his own life was made to contribute towards his creative works, whether it was his wide reading, his circle of acquaintances, his knowledge of human nature or simply his vivid imagination. The latter was responsible particularly for such poetry as can be found within the story. The love scene between Abdallah and Zulma possesses a certain lyrical quality which well conveys the rapture the hero finds alone in the presence of his love. The verses themselves are artificial and construed, but the failure in execution should not obscure the good intention of relieving the basic harshness with occasional softer, gentler scenes.

'Sonne der Nacht!
Himmel meiner Seele!
Reizgeschmückte,
Schönheitgekrönte,
Ich nahe deiner Gottheit!

His love for Zulma is the only reality which Abdallah retains and the motif could have lent itself to much more sympathetic development; as it is, Zulma is never allowed to meet Abdallah again until she receives his hand in marriage and learns that he has been responsible for his father's death, a dramatic situation which Tieck was unable to resist but one which may well have been dispensed with to provide a less vicious ending.

Abdallah's place among the works of Tieck is not a high one, but the work was nevertheless of great importance in the literary progress of its writer. Its horrors were those which had haunted the author's own mind, its every word was dictated by his own sufferings and it provided the longed-for release from the morbid thoughts to which he had fallen prey.

Its weaknesses became quickly as apparent to Tieck as they are to us today,[1] but the work had to be written. And it is as integral a part of Tieck's creation as Franz Sternbalds Wanderungen which, without Abdallah, could never have been written.

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1) Tieck himself said of the story: 'Das Gespenstische und Wilde, wenn es sich auch steigert, übersättigt endlich.' T.S. VI, vii.

Conclusion

> 'The Gothic novelists contributed some vital components of romanticism. The matter, style, and spirit of Gothic romance, its images, themes, characters, and settings, sloughed their gross husk and emerged transformed into the finer elements of Romantic poetry. No attempt has been made so far to isolate the actual process of transformation, or span the artistic distance between the finished product and its raw material. The intermediate stages of evolution have received no attention.'

This paragraph from Varma's work on the Gothic novel[1] indicates the kind of purpose towards which the present study has been directed, the literary schools concerned being represented by Ludwig Tieck and Anne Radcliffe respectively. It will be apparent that such a survey, including, as it does, eighteenth century writers in both the German and English languages, may also reveal something of the literary relations of those two countries at that time.

Tieck's knowledge of English literature in general was even in his lifetime an undisputed fact, but here it has been necessary to establish that this interest extended also to those writers who inhabited the lower

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1) D.P. Varma, op. cit., p.189.

slopes of Parnassus. This has been possible by references to letters, comments and criticisms left us by Tieck or his contemporaries, from the catalogue of his library and from such internal evidence as his literary works afford us.

Tieck himself would probably have denied that the popular novel had any serious influence upon his maturer works, but such a point of view is scarcely tenable in the light of the comparisons we have drawn in the foregoing pages. For despite his desperate attempts to decry the literary value of the trivial writing on the intellectual plane, apart altogether from the more obvious scorn which he poured upon it, his subsequent output clearly bore the marks of his early knowledge of these writers. Korff attaches considerable importance to this background reading:

> 'Seine Dichtungen sind in weitem Masse zunächst nichts anderes als literatenhaft verarbeitete Erinnerungen an Erlebnisse einer frühen, allzu frühen Belesenheit.'[1]

On the other hand we have found little evidence to confirm the opinion that Tieck was further tempted

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1) H.A. Korff, Geist der Goethezeit, Vol. III, p.480.

from the path of literary virtue through his associations with Rambach and Bernhardi, for it has been a central argument that Tieck's enthusiasm for sensation and horror was not temporary and involuntary but lifelong and innate.

The choice of Mrs. Radcliffe is justified for present purposes both by the fact that Tieck most definitely knew her stories and by a certain similarity of mood and treatment. Here it must be pointed out that the first person to associate the name of Tieck with that of Mrs. Radcliffe was Professor Zeydel, who wrote:

> 'The early works of Anne Radcliffe should be considered with regard to their influence upon Tieck's first writings.'[1]

Both writers were deeply interested, albeit for different reasons, in the roles of the 'everyday' and

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1) E.H. Zeydel, Ludwig Tieck and England, p.142. In a private letter of 9th April 1957 to the present writer Professor Zeydel elaborated upon the above statement: 'I had in mind that the early novels of Mrs. Radcliffe, e.g. The Castles of Athlin and Dunbayne, A Sicilian Romance and Romance of the Forest, which Tieck could well have read between 1790 and 1792, may well have provided mood and atmosphere for his own writings of that time.'

the 'marvellous' in human life. For Mrs. Radcliffe this was an essentially academic, literary preoccupation and these elements were virtually as drugs which she attempted to mix in exactly the proportions necessary alternately to stimulate and to deaden her readers' fantasy. For the melancholy, tortured Romanticist Tieck, the interplay of these forces was a more basic problem, not merely useful for a literary situation, but relevant to the meaning of life itself. As this is indeed the unbridgeable gulf which separated the two - the romanticists' foundation of a metaphysical basis for their works, which, inadequate though it was, made possible the more complex superstructure of Romantic literature. Madness, for instance, a theme of great attraction to Tieck, became associated with the demonic traits of his own personality and emerged as a fully romantic motif at times only vaguely distinguishable from the more universal fear of the indefinite future, that is, the fear of life itself.

Tieck's retention of much of the outworn machinery

of the Gothic novel has been demonstrated by examination of Redden's list of traditional Gothic situations and devices. To this may be added further linguistic features such as the horrific compounds and similes, repeated hyperboles, use of 'suggestive' or 'atmospheric' words, lack of definition, monotony of tone and artificial stimulation of suspense. The quotations which have been used to exemplify these linguistic aspects likewise demonstrate the ubiquity of these elements even up to Vittoria Accorombona. The adduction of several instances of recurring secondary devices of the Gothic novel in Tieck's own works, together with a short analysis of passages which show him adopting techniques which he had abhorred in the writings of others, illustrate his unwitting acceptance of much of the Gothic stock.

The section devoted to the rôle of the Gothic themes in Tieck has set out to trace back to their Gothic sources some of his more markedly romantic traits. Despite, for example, the highly original

treatment of nature, many of the individual components of the scene - the sombre woods, the sudden storm, the rich colour of sunrise and sunset, the expanse of vales, the secluded cottages, the craggy mountains - are to be found in the stereotype landscapes of the popular novelists; here particularly it is the 'Beseelung', the application of a philosophy of nature, which raises the 'paysage tieckien' above that of its predecessors. Nature is elevated by Tieck to a position superior to that of man and thereby the realms of nature and the supernatural are brought closer together. The latter is seen to have developed primarily under the influence of Shakespearean technique in the creation of the desired illusion before the reader has been able to rationalise to the point of effective resistance. If Mrs. Radcliffe believed only in the supernatural in its most Divine form, that of the Biblical miracles, Tieck was possessed of an implicit belief firstly in the existence of invisible forces which might have some part in man's life, but also in a form of life within every inanimate

object. The physical adventures and traps which Mrs. Radcliffe laid for her unwary characters were thus translated by Tieck to the higher plane of intellectual anguish and fear.

In Abdallah, Tieck's first essay in the genre of the 'Verbildungsroman', we are conscious of the young writer's struggle to free himself from tradition and, as was perhaps inevitable, the result was a compromise, the villain-hero being subjected to tortures both of mind and body. The detailed analysis of this story shows something of the autobiographical, cathartic content of Tieck's work and the sources which influenced him in its composition; it is historically important as the prelude to his subsequent romanticism.

Tieck's reputation has suffered a serious decline since his death in 1853 and perhaps not without good reason. His preoccupation with controversies relevant

only to his own age, the growing conflicts of personalities, the instability of his theatrical temperament, above all a certain glib fluency which made him rush into print before his works had sufficiently matured within him, these have detracted from his prestige. But he remains the first typical German Romanticist -

> 'der seltene Fall, dass eine entscheidende Bewegung am umfänglichsten durch einen repräsentiert wird, der gar nicht ihre höchsten Werke schuf.'[1]

And it is as an important figure in the history of literature rather than in the literature itself that he will continue to survive.

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1) R. Benz, Die Deutsche Romantik (5th edn., 1956) p.49.

Appendix A

The manuscript of Die Nebenbuhler, an incomplete comedy covering some 106 pages, is Part 3 of Box 5 of Tieck's Nachlass. The scene in question is the sixteenth scene of Act III and is here reproduced for the first time by kind permission of the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Berlin.

Dunckel, Frau Dunckel

Dunckel: (schreibt) Gottlob! Nun ist mein Simson fertig.

Frau: So?

Dunckel: Und nichts als ein kaltes 'So' entschlüpft Deinen Lippen? Freue Dich mit mir, dieser Simson soll mich berühmt machen. Ich will Dir einige von den schönsten Stellen vorlesen.

Frau: Giet Dir nur keine Mühe.

Dunckel: Du hast auch gar kein Gefühl für Schönheiten, Du bist unempfindlich wie Holz. Aber Du musst hören, Du magst wollen oder nicht.

Frau: Nun, so lies nur in Gottes Namen, denn Du lässt mir doch nicht eher Ruhe.

Dunckel: Mein Trauerspiel Simson hat 13 Aufzüge, 206 Personen und es erfordert 85 Dekorationen, 36 Mal wird drinn gefochten, und 62 Geister erscheinen, dabei habe ich 10 Schlachten eingewebt, Du kannst also daraus leichtlich abnehmen, welchen Beifall mein Stück erhalten muss. Ich will Dir eine Scene aus dem fünften Akt vorlesen, die ich für eine der Schönsten halte; es ist, wie man ihn in der Stadt gefangen genommen hat:
"Scene. Eine Stube, Simson schläft in Ketten; er wacht fürchterlich auf; Simson muss ein grosser Mann sein; und wo möglich in den Ketten aufgefangen schlafen, und so wie er erwacht, müssen die Ketten ein ganz entsetzliches Spektakel machen; also er wacht nun auf. "Was ist das? Wer that das? O ich will Euch verfluchte Philister zusammendreschen, dass Ihr an mich denken sollt, Ihr sollt übereinanderpurseln, wie die Kugel, wenn Einer Neune geworfen hat; diese Ketten will ich Euch wie Schafleder um die Ohren schlagen, dass Ihr glauben sollt, den jüngsten Tag zu sehn."
Nun ist das nicht eine starke Stelle?

Frau: Das hat mir wirklich mal gefallen, es ist zum Todtlachen! (sie lacht)

Dunckel: Nun weiter!
"Ihr sollt ja alle.. (er fängt an zu springen, die Ketten reissen eine nach der andren in tausend Stücke)."
Sieh nun, man muss dem Simson recht viele Ketten anbinden, damit die Zuschauer dieses angenehmen Anblicks recht lange geniessen.

"Nun bin ich frei, nun will ich über Euch und Euch alle in tausend kreutzmillionen Stücken zerhauen.[1] (er springt ab)."
Nun ist die Scene beim Thor. Simson springt vor.
"Und Ihr dummen Kerls habt vor mir die Thore verschlossen, ja so soll Euch ja das Donnerwetter in den Hals hinein und durch alle Gedärme fahren. (Er fasst die Thore an, sie wackeln). So Ihr wackelt, Ihr tausend Sappermenter (er hebt sie aus den Angeln, die fürchterlich krachen). Fort mit Euch (er geht mit den Thoren ab, und weil er nun so schwer ist, drücken sich seine Füsse immer tiefer in den Boden ein)."

Frau: (lachend) Nein, das ist recht.

Dunckel: Nun will ich Dir mal den Schluss vorlesen. "Scene, eine Strasse. Der blinde Simson steht mit einer Kette vor der Thür eines Pallasts angebunden. Man hört ihn drinne auslachen.
"Simson: Lacht nur, verfluchtes Rabenvieh, verdammtes Philistervolk. Ich will Euch alle zusammenrütteln, wie man Haselnüsse in einer Pudelmütze zusammenschüttelt. (Er rührt sich, der Pallast fällt ein, und alles purzelt übereinander, alles schreit laut, Simson kriecht unten aus dem Schutt heraus.) Seht Ihrs? (Er bricht sich den Hals indem er herunterfällt, der Kopf

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1) See Chap IV, p. 21ln.

rollt übers Theater. Lange Stille, dann erscheinen die Geister von den Erschlagenen und winseln)."
Aber mich hungert, jetzt komm' in die Küche, wir wollen unsre Kartoffeln verzehren." (bricht ab).

APPENDIX B

Some Parallel Passages in the Works of Tieck and Mrs. Radcliffe

It has been no part of the present study to 'prove' that Tieck wrote certain works under the direct influence of this or that story by this or that writer. Such proofs, even if possible, would in any case be comparatively insignificant in the history of the broader movements with which we have been dealing. The examination of the German and English literature relevant to our subject has, however, led to the discovery of a certain number of strongly similar passages in the works of Tieck and Mrs. Radcliffe, and these are clearly of importance both in confirming the view expressed that Tieck knew and read the novels of his English contemporary, as also in pinpointing one possible source for some of the Gothic and early romantic traits. In this sense this appendix may be considered as a relevant digression.

It must be borne in mind that such analogous excerpts must be read in the context from which they

are taken, as it is often the elusive 'atmosphere' which suggests the connection rather than a particular similarity in meaning or choice of words. Their value must likewise be estimated in toto, that is to say, the most telling fact is the multiplicity of related matter. For convenience the passages will be related to the various novels of Mrs. Radcliffe and presented numerically, a discussion of their general importance being reserved until the end. Nor does the inclusion of the features selected imply that these are found only in these two writers or that they are original in their works. The preference for an 'interesting' face, as in the first example, will be found in much earlier authors, but as an element common both to the Gothic novel and to Tieck it may justifiably be included in this list.

A Sicilian Romance

I. Both writers favour the adjective 'interesting', applied to appearance, as being more desirable than

beauty, for instance in Mrs. Radcliffe's description of Julia:

> 'The vivid glow of health had fled her cheek, and was succeeded by a languid delicacy, less beautiful, but more interesting.' (p.26)

In Tieck a like instance occurs in William Lovell, where Francesko writes to Adriano about a new acquaintance:

> 'Aber wenn ich Ihnen sage, dass ich sie interessant finde, so hoffe ich, ich habe Ihnen damit alles gesagt.'[1]

II. The role of nature in the works of these two novelists has already been examined, and while the atmospheric similarities in their descriptions defy easy illustration, the following sentences may be taken as typical of the many correspondences on this theme. Both are viewed from the panoramic height, stress the brightness of colour in the valley beneath and introduce half-hidden objects (here cottages) to avoid exact description:

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1) T.S. VII, 269.

'The valleys, luxuriant in shade, were frequently embellished by the windings of a lucid stream, and diversified by clusters of half-seen cottages.' (p.33)

'Man sah von oben, wie grüne Inseln, unten die von der Morgensonne erleuchteten kleinen Thäler mit Wald und Busch, dazwischen die halbversteckten Häuserchen und Hütten, die sich an Hügel und Felsen lehnten.'[1]

III. Mrs. Radcliffe was always at pains to point a moral in her stories and occasionally interpolated short homilies on the subjects of evil and goodness. Tieck, while deploring the rationalist idea that literature's first purpose must be to demonstrate the workings of morality, was himself too great a moralist to omit it entirely from his work and the method he adopted was the short discourse in the style of Mrs. Radcliffe. In almost the same words they described the entanglements of evil once embarked upon:

'The commission of one crime often requires the perpetration of another. When once we enter upon the labyrinth of vice, we can seldom return, but are led on, through correspondent mazes to destruction.' (p.69).

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1) T.S. XXIV, 150.

Leonhard in Der Junge Tischlermeister changes only the metaphor:

> 'Aber freilich, ein Verheimlichen zieht das andere, eine Unwahrheit die zweite nach sich. Ist der gerade Weg des alltäglichen Lebens einmal verloren, so ist es schwer, die rechte Strasse wieder zu finden.'1

IV. Tieck's Der Schutzgeist has an episode very reminiscent of the scene in A Sicilian Romance where Hippolitus, in his search for his beloved Julia and her brother Ferdinand, comes by chance upon a ruined building and hears groans issuing from one of the windows:

> 'He advanced softly to the window, and beheld in a small room, which was less decayed than the rest of the edifice, a group of men, who from the savageness of their looks, and from their dress, appeared to be bandits. They surrounded a man who lay on the ground wounded, and bathed in blood, and who it was very evident had uttered the groans heard by the Count.' (p.60).

The victim here is finally revealed as the missing Ferdinand, just as the Countess in Der Schutzgeist,

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1) T.S. XXVIII, 374.

when she too calls at a remote house on her journey and there observes a similar incident, finds that the maltreated youth is her own son:

> 'Denn als sie oben waren, sahen sie nach geöffneter Thür eine wilde Gestalt, die mit gesucktem Messer sich über einen gefesselten Offizier beugte, der in seiner Uniform auf einem schlechten Bette lag. Eine andere Gestalt zog eine schwere Chatulle unter dem Kopfkissen hervor, als der Jäger diesen niederstürzte und Cristoph und der andere Diener den Offizier befreiten.'[1]

The preceding passages in which the weary travellers are led to these ruins by a light in the distance, are also much alike.

V. But the work of Tieck which shows greatest likeness to A Sicilian Romance, in certain aspects of the action at least, is Schicksal written in 1795 just five years after the appearance of Mrs. Radcliffe's story. Both introduce a young girl whose unwillingness to marry the man of her father's choice causes her to be imprisoned in a convent, from which she escapes

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1) T.S. XXV, 69.

to continue the search for her missing lover. In the closing scenes, both stories contain a similar incident, in which a jealous husband is informed that his wife has been unfaithful and told where the rendezvous have taken place. The Marquis de Mazzini hears of Maria de Vellorno's infidelity in the following words:

> 'He learned that an intimacy had for some time subsisted between Maria and the Cavalier de Vincini; and that the assig: :nation was usually held at the pavilion on the sea-shore, in an evening. Baptista farther declared, that if the Marquis desired a confirmation of his words, he might obtain it by visiting this spot at the hour mentioned.' (p.69).

In Schicksal Lindner receives the same information:

> 'Wenn er seine Frau in artiger Gesellschaft finden wollte, er nur nach einem Gartenhause, welches er ihn näher bezeich: :nete, um eine gewisse Stunde kommen sollte.'[1]

The following scenes in which the men surprise their unsuspecting wives show further resemblances in detail:

> '.. he discovered her senseless on the ground..'
>
> '.. die Frau fällt wirklich in Ohnmacht..'

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1) T.S. XIV, 39.

'He stood almost petrified with terrible sensations'

'Der Mann stand wie versteinert'

The Romance of the Forest

I. Just as Adeline had descended to a subterranean room and there discovered a curious manuscript, so Ferdinand von Linden in Waldeinsamkeit experiences a similar occurence:

'.. she lifted the arras, and discovered a small door, whose loosened hinges admitted the wind, and occasioned the noise she had heard. The door was held only by a bolt, having undrawn which, and brought the light, she descended by a few steps into another chamber... Desirous, however, of examining farther, she attempted to raise what appeared to have been part of the bedstead, but it slipped from her hand, and, rolling to the floor, brought with it some of the remaining lumber. It was a small roll of paper, tied with a string and covered with dust.' (p.121).

'Sie öffnete die Wandthür und dieser gegenüber im dunkeln Raum eine andre ganz kleine, die sich auch nicht finden liess, wenn man sie nicht kannte. Nun standen sie an einer ziemlich engen Treppe, deren wenige Stufen sie hinunterschritten... ein gebundenes kleines Buch lag in der

> Ecke hinter den Flaschen, als er es aufschlug, sah er, dass es ein Manuskript war.'[1]

II. A rather unusual feature common to the same two works is the introduction of a pet fawn which wanders about in the surrounding countryside and has a soothing effect on the minds of the respective personages:

> 'Her favourite little fawn distinguished Adeline and came bounding towards her with strong marks of joy.' (p.102).

> 'Auf demselben lichten Waldfleck stand heut ein schönes, braunes Reh, ganz still, und als wenn es den klugen Kopf horchend und lauschend nach ihm hinwendete.'[2]

It will be recalled that in Act I Scene VI of Tieck's youthful drama Das Reh, Ullina, the Queen of the elves, also refers to the fawn as 'mein Lieblingsreh'.[3]

III. The same works bear an even more striking resemblance in the use of a more curious episode. In The Romance of the Forest La Motte is surprised when his son unexpectedly arrives at the home he has made for himself in the ruins of an ancient mansion. On

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1) T.S. XXVI, 516.

2) T.S. XXVI, 535.

3) Ludwig Tiecks Nachgelassene Schriften, ed. R. Köpke (Leipzig, 1855).

asking how the son had found out his whereabouts, he receives the following explanation:

> 'As I sat musing at the window of the inn, I observed some scribbling on the glass, and the curiosity of idleness prompted me to read it. I thought I knew the characters; and the lines I read confirmed my conjecture, for I remembered to have heard you often repeat them.' (p.103).

In Waldeinsamkeit Ferdinand does not use the writing, which is also in verse form, to help him in any search; the incident is used rather as an excuse for a poetic interpolation, the poems actually being headed 'Gläserne Gedichte':

> 'Als er sich niedersetzte, fiel ihm eine Scheibe der Fenster ins Auge, die sonderbare Striche im Widerschein der Sonne zeigte. Er hatte dies noch nicht beachtet, und als er untersuchend näher trat, fand sich, dass mit einem Diamant Worte eingeschnitten waren... Als Ferdinand sich näher umsah, entdeckte er, dass alle Scheiben auf diese Weise beschrieben waren.'[1]

IV. The reactions of Madame La Motte to the scene which confronts her when the family make their first acquaintance with the ruin which is to become their

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1) T.S. XXVI, 532.

home are not very favourable:

> 'He opened the door of the great hall, and they entered; its extent was lost in gloom. Let us stay here, said Madame La Motte, I will go no farther. La Motte pointed to the broken roof, and was proceeding, when he was interrupted by an uncommon noise, which passed along the hall. They were all silent - it was the silence of terror. Madame La Motte spoke first. Let us quit this spot, said she; almost any evil is preferable to the feeling which now oppresses me. Let us retire instantly.' (p.84).

This has a fairly exact counterpart in Die Klausenburg [1] where Franz tells of an occasion when he wandered through the new house with his wife Elisabeth:

> 'Wir gingen einst durch die alten Zimmer, durch den ziemlich erhaltnen gothischen Saal und indem unsre Tritte im einsamen Gemach widerhallten, zuckte meine Gattin plötzlich zusammen und schauderte. Ich fragte. O es ist grausig hier, sprach sie zitternd, ich habe das Gefühl, als wenn Gespenster unsichtbar hier umgingen.'

The Mysteries of Udolpho

I. This work marks the greatest triumph of Mrs. Radcliffe and no part of it is more successful than

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1) T.S. XXV, 136.

the scene she paints of Emily's arrival at the dreaded Castle of Udolpho. The whole impression is one of misery and neglect:

> 'Another gate delivered them into the second court, grass-grown, and more wild than the first, where, as she surveyed through the twilight its desolation - its lofty walls, overtopt with briony, moss, and nightshade, and the embattled towers that rose above - long suffering and murder came to her thoughts. One of those instantaneous and unaccountable convictions, which sometimes conquer even strong minds, impressed her with its horror.' (p.326).

Tieck uses this same technique in Liebeswerben [1] to capture the atmosphere of an overgrown courtyard fallen into dilapidation:

> 'Ich ging durch das Thor und trat in den Hof, der von den Gebäuden umschlossen wird; zwischen Pflastersteinen war allenthalben Gras hervorgewachsen, in den Winkeln wucherte hohe Stauden von Nesseln und Unkraut, um den steinernen Brunnen in der Mitte standen einige Gebüsche von blühendem und duftendem Flieder. Alles romantisch genug, wenn nicht die Leiden einer Unglücklichen alles Poetische in diesem Neste unterdrückten!

II. The Castle itself was gothic, built to gigantic

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1) T.S. XXVI, 400.

proportions, dominated by two towers and placed in a background of endless forests:

> 'The gothic greatness of its features... the extent and darkness of these tall woods awakened terrific images in her mind... The gateway was of gigantic size, and was defended by two round towers, crowned by overhanging turrets.' (p.325).

All of these elements are present in Tieck's description of the country villa which is the scene of the action in Das Zauberschloss[1]:

> 'Vorn hatte das Häuschen einen kleinen Balkon und auf beiden Seiten zwei gothisch verzierte Thürmchen; die einsame Lage, dieses gothische Ansehn des Hauses, das durch Erker und Thürme das Ansehn einer alten Ritterburg gewann, die ziemlich steile Anhöhe, auf welcher es stand, der finstre Wald oben und in der Nähe, alles diente dazu, dieser Stelle, so anmuthig sie war, doch auch den Charakter des Abentheuerlichen zu geben.'

> 'Silent, lonely and sublime, it seemed to stand the sovereign of the scene, and to frown defiance on all who dared to invade its solitary reign.' (p.325).

> 'Wie so still, einsam, fast schauerlich es nun hier ist. Die Fichten da oben säuseln so wunderlich, da unten die Linden und Buchen so poetisch, das Haus nimmt von uns

1) T.S. XXI, 220-1.

> keine Notiz, wir stehen verdutzt hier vor der lieben Natur, und diese scheint uns, statt anzulachen, zu verhohnen und auszulachen.'

III. The scene in Tieck's 'Märchen' Der Blaubart in which Agnes enters the forbidden room, has several features in common with the incident in The Mysteries of Udolpho where Emily is left alone in a dark room and finds a corpse which she presumes to be that of her missing aunt. The Tieck story is based upon the French tale of Perrault, La Barbe Bleue, and it is therefore significant that the elements here to be listed are not found in the French version. Perrault makes no mention of a lamp, a curtain which tempts the curiosity or the effect which the falling key (in the case of Mrs. Radcliffe the falling lamp) has upon the person involved. Yet the versions of Tieck and Mrs. Radcliffe both contain these additional features and it seems not unreasonable to consider this more than coincidence:

> 'Als ich also die Thür aufmachte, sah ich nichts, als ein leeres Gemach, im Hintergrunde einen grünen Vorhang, wie vor einem Alkoven oder einem Schlafzimmer... das Licht warf

nur einen schwachen, ungewissen Schein hinein.'[1]

'The feeble rays of the lamp however did not allow her to see at once its full extent; she perceived no furniture, except, indeed an iron chair.. (She) perceived only a dark curtain, which, descending from the ceiling to the floor, was drawn along the whole side of the chamber.' (p.380).

'Ich konnte unmöglich wieder umkehren, der Vorhang sah so geheimnisvoll aus.'

'She paused to gaze upon it, in wonder and apprehension... She wished, yet dreaded to lift it.'

'Das Herz klopfte mir,...nicht mehr aus Neugier. Ich schlug ihn mit der Hand zurück.'

'Twice she was withheld by a recollection... till, suddenly ... she seized it in a fit of desperation and drew it aside.'

'Hinter dem Vorhang ... and den Wänden standen sechs Knochengerippe umher - Blut färbte die Wände, Blut bedeckte den Boden.'

'Beyond, appeared a corpse, stretched on a kind of low couch, which was crimsoned with human blood, as was the floor beneath.'

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1) T.S. V, 124-5.

The foregoing comparisons illustrate something of the process of transition from the pre-romanticism of the late Gothic literature to the 'Hochromantik' of Tieck. The former school was intent on the creation of a specific atmosphere of suspense to hold together certain individual and unlikely occurrences; the literature of the Romanticists had as its object the portrayal of a mood, to be typified by the hopeful but despondent search of the artistic temperament for a satisfaction which he knew to be unattainable on earth, what Korff calls the 'säkularisierte Himmelssehnsucht'. In the romanticism of Tieck part of the inspiration for this mood was a continuation of the Gothic techniques which lay so close at hand. But the purpose was different. The immaterial demonic has usurped the physical terror, the animated trees and mountains speak and sing to attract and repel, man no longer fears his fellow creatures but an intangible power which is as evasive as the happiness he is seeking. Here, as indeed in all forms of art, the abstraction is an imaginative development of some more realistic

antecedent, and it is in this sense that the common stock drawn upon by Tieck and Mrs. Radcliffe becomes important for the understanding of the emergence of Romanticism.

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